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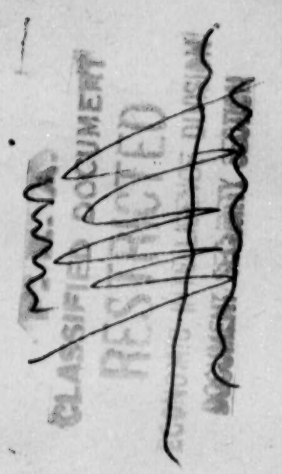

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GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE

1939-1943

Methods and Organizations of Nazi Controls

PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA-MORAVIA

Description

This paper is a section of a comprehensive study of German military government in occupied Europe. The occupation of the Protectorate was largely a civil rather than a military problem. It was carried out in peacetime, without encountering any military resistance, since it took the outward form of a voluntary act on the part of the Czecho-Slovak government. For one month, however, a military government did function. This period is described in I and II. The bulk of this study deals with the succeeding four and a half years of civil administration, up to the end of 1943.

11 February 1944

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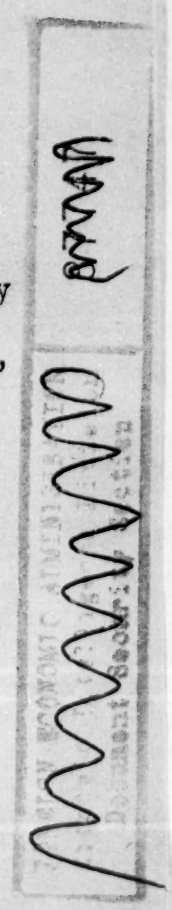

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INTRODUCTION

The Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia was the fourth territory occupied by Nazi Germany, following the Saar, Austria, and the Sudetenland, all of which had been completely incorporated into the Reich. It was the first German occupation involving a non-German population and was therefore endowed with a new type of administration, different from the preceding ones. Territorially, it was incorporated into the Greater German Reich, but administratively its incorporation was incomplete, and an "autonomous" local government shared the administration with a German Reichsprotektor.

The occupation of the Protectorate was more a civil than a military problem. It was carried out in peacetime, without encountering any military resistance, since it took the outward form of a voluntary act on the part of the Czecho-Slovak government. For one month, however a military government did function. This period is described in I and II. The bulk of this study deals with the succeeding four and a half years of civil administration, up to the end of 1943.

The Protectorate has been studied because the administration, while appearing on the surface to be only a civil government, is really quasi-military -- of necessity, because it had to be adjusted to war needs -- and also because the procedures utilized in the Protectorate have appeared in varying forms in other occupied territories.

GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE, 1939-1943
PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA-MORAVIA

I. CHRONOLOGY, 15 MARCH - 16 APRIL 1939: THE PERIOD OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT

14 March 1939. Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia, provinces of post-Munich Czecho-Slovakia, declared their independence and formally separated from the state.

14 March evening. Without prior negotiation, German troops occupied certain Czech towns along the Polish frontier "as a precautionary measure".

15 March 4 a.m. President Hácha signed an agreement in Berlin placing Bohemia-Moravia under the protection of Germany.

5:30 a.m. As Commander-in-Chief of the Czecho-Slovak Army, Hácha telegraphed to all military commanders, ordering them to disarm their troops and place themselves under the orders of the German Army, and formally divesting himself of all further rights or duties as Commander-in-Chief.

6:00 a.m. German troops crossed the frontier at several points simultaneously. The main army units were preceded by cars, each containing one or two officers and some soldiers. In each town along the route, the officers contacted the local civil authorities and local military commanders, placing them formally under the orders of the German army, and posted the official proclamations. 1/ In most cases they then proceeded to the next town, leaving actual military control to be established later on by the advancing army units, which dropped off local garrisons as they went along. 2/

In Praha, and in certain other important cities, the army units were also preceded or accompanied by officers of the Gestapo and ordinary police, and by certain civilian officials who immediately took command of strategic offices: police headquarters, the Czecho-Slovak Press Bureau, the radio stations, various ministries, the main post offices, the National Bank, etc.

While the occupation was proceeding, beginning shortly before 6 a.m., all Czech radio stations carried an official statement by the Czech government stating briefly what had happened and ordering the population to remain calm, to proceed as usual to places of business, to send the children to school, and to refrain from any disturbances or resistance. This appeal was carried at fifteen-minute intervals, and was also broadcast over city loudspeaker systems. All regular radio programs were suspended throughout the day, and the radio stations were used exclusively for official announcements and a few brief news

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1/ For text of these proclamations see below and Appendix I.

2/ Národní Noviny, Praha, 17 March 1939, has detailed chronological descriptions of events in various towns.

broadcasts. Regular programs were resumed the next day. Interspersed with the often-repeated official statement were announcements by German army authorities giving specific directions to the population e.g., warning them that the German army was driving on the righthand side of the road (Czech traffic normally drove on the left). 1/ A special announcement was also made to the effect that parents should not send their children to certain schools which were to be used as temporary barracks for the German soldiers.

The first issue of the Verordnungsblatt für Böhmen und Mähren (Official Gazette for Bohemia-Moravia) was issued by the Supreme Army Command, printed in Berlin, dated 15 March 1939, and contained the basic orders for military government, which were also posted on every municipal bulletin board and important public buildings as the army marched in. These orders, 2/ all of which were signed by von Brauchitsch, Supreme Commander of the Army, were as follows:

APPEAL OF THE SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE ARMY TO THE POPULATION OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA

"By the will of the Führer and the Supreme Commander of the German Armed Forces, German troops have occupied your country, with the task of maintaining peace and order and assuming the protection of the population.

"In the territories occupied by German troops, executive power is vested in myself and the Supreme Commanders of the Army Groups. 3/

"1. Except where otherwise ordered, public administration continues to operate. This is also valid for the police, post-office, and railroads, and for state-owned business undertakings.

"2. All business life continues.

"3. Everyone is to remain at his post and continue his work. Cessation of work will be regarded as sabotage.

"4. The orders of the German military authorities must be unconditionally obeyed.

"5. Everyone must obey the orders issued, which serve the well-being of the community as well as of the individual."

1/ In the large cities this method was changed shortly after the army entered, and the Germans conformed to the Czech rule of the road until night, when all non-military traffic was ordered off the streets during the curfew hours.

2/ The translation of the orders is in some cases slightly abridged.

3/ Army Group III occupied Bohemia; Group V, Moravia.

ORDER ESTABLISHING CURFEW HOURS, ETC.

"The following regulations are issued for the maintenance of peace and order:

"1. All restaurants must close at 8 p.m.

"2. All inhabitants must remain in their houses from 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. Anyone who must leave his house on business during these hours (physicians, railroad officials, etc.) must procure a pass from the Mayor, stamped by a German military or administrative official. 1/

"3. All meetings and processions are forbidden. 2/

"4. All weapons, ammunition, and explosives, and all radio senders not classed as state property, must be delivered to the Mayor who will issue receipts for them and turn them over to the nearest German military post. 3/

"The Mayors (or other community heads) are held responsible for the carrying out of the above orders.

"Crimes against public security, against the troops and their equipment, or against the orders of the German military and civil officials will be promptly and severely punished.

NOTICE CONCERNING THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE FOR BOHEMIA-MORAVIA.

"Laws and decrees which I issue on the basis of the task entrusted to me by the Führer and Reichskanzler in the territories placed under the protection of the German armed forces will be published in the Official Gazette for Bohemia-Moravia." 4/

ORDER ON THE JURISDICTION OF CRIMINAL LAW IN BOHEMIA-MORAVIA

"1. 1) Ordinary German criminal law is valid for acts committed by all persons possessing German nationality on 15 March 1939. 5/

1/ This order was modified two or three days later, setting the curfew hour at midnight, and within a week or ten days it was lifted altogether.

2/ However, there was no attempt to prohibit crowds from gathering in the streets, as they remained well-disciplined and could be handled by the regular Czech police.

3/ This was a temporary measure; final settlement of the conditions for owning weapons was made in a decree of 1 August 1939.

4/ After civil government began on 16 April 1939, the title was changed to Verordnungsblatt des Reichsprotektors in Böhmen und Mähren, hereafter referred to as VBlRProt. Since August 1943, it has been called Verordnungsblatt des Deutschen Staatsministeriums für Böhmen und Mähren.

5/ That is, not including the Sudeten Germans, who did not acquire German nationality until the next day.

"2) For other persons, German criminal law is valid:

"a) if they commit an act directed against the German Reich, or against the German Army or its members.

"b) if they commit an act constituting
1) a crime dangerous to the community;
2) use of explosives dangerous to the community;
3) robbery during an auto accident."

"2. All persons in the service of, or in other official relationship to, the German Army, are subject to German military law.

"3. The jurisdiction of German military courts extends to:

1) persons mentioned in paragraph 2;
2) persons mentioned in paragraph 1, section 2);
3) persons contravening any orders given by the Military Commander in Bohemia-Moravia.

German military judges may hand over cases coming within their jurisdiction to local courts."

"4. German military courts will follow the procedure of German military law as applied in peacetime."

ORDER ESTABLISHING SPECIAL COURTS IN BOHEMIA-MORAVIA

"The Supreme Commanders of the Army Groups may establish Special Courts (Sondergerichte) in the territories of Bohemia and Moravia placed under the protection of the German Army.

"1. Procedure in these courts will be according to the regulations of the decree of 21 March 1933 (RGBl. I, p. 136), unless otherwise ordered.

"2. All punishable acts may be brought before the Special Courts if the appropriate officials are of the opinion that there is special reason to do so, or when they are instructed to do so by the Supreme Commander of an Army Group.

"The jurisdiction of military courts is not affected.

"3. The Special Court may handle a case in a manner not prescribed by ordinary procedural rulers.

"4. The Reich Minister of Justice appoints the members of the Special Courts (civilian professional judges) and the official representatives of the prosecuting officials.

"5. When the jurisdiction of the Special Courts is not claimed, Czecho-Slovak laws continue in effect for all criminal cases in Bohemia-Moravia."

The sixth order established immediately the righthand rule of the road, but this order was modified almost at once for Praha and one or two other large cities, in view of the technical difficulties involved in the change. The Czecho-Slovak government was already preparing to make the change by June 1939, and

had laid out a six-month plan for gradual shifting of installations (streetcar loading platforms, traffic signs, etc.). The Germans granted a ten-day postponement of the order, and by working day and night, despite unfavorable weather conditions, the engineers completed the technical preparation within the ten days (work which had been planned to take nearly three months more), and the new rule went into effect on 26 March 1939.

15 March, evening. Hitler arrived in person in Praha, reviewed German troops, and received Volksdeutsche at the Praha castle. (Local Volksdeutsche leaders had carefully kept their compatriots off the streets during the entire day, arranging various mass meetings; they thus avoided any occasion for clashes during the arrival of the troops.)

16 March. The decree establishing the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia was published. This date became the basis for subsequent legal measures, many of which were explicitly made retroactive to 16 March 1939 (citizenship laws, definition of German court jurisdiction, etc.).

18 March. The three chief officials of the Protectorate were appointed: Konstantin von Neurath as Reichsprotektor, Karl Hermann Frank as Secretary of State, Kurt von Burgsdorff as Undersecretary of State.

16 April. Civil government went into effect, and the full staff of the Reichsprotektor's office began operations.

II. ADMINISTRATION OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT

The military administration was divided between Army Group III in Praha and Army Group V in Brno. The former had jurisdiction over the province of Bohemia and also over all matters affecting the central government and the territory as a whole; the latter had authority over the province of Moravia. Each of these Groups had both a military commander (Befehlshaber) and, under him, a Chief of the Civil Administration (Chef der Zivilverwaltung). The Chiefs of the Civil Administration were: for Army Group III, Konrad Henlein, Gauleiter of the Sudetenland and formerly leader of the Sudeten German Party in Czechoslovakia; for Army Group V, Kurt von Burgsdorff, soon to be appointed Undersecretary of State in the Reichsprotektor's office. The Chiefs of the Civil Administration were responsible for all matters not of a military nature. They acted as liaison officers between the local authorities and the army, approved laws issued by the autonomous government, were entrusted with the liquidation of certain organizations, took charge of all matters affecting German nationals in the Protectorate in fact, generally carried out the functions later to be handled by the Reichsprotektor's office. They also issued some temporary regulations, pending final settlement of certain matters -- e.g., an injunction against the transfer of Jewish real estate.

Under the Chiefs of the Civil Administration, the nineteen Oberlandräte, who were later to function as direct local representatives of the Reichsprotektor, carried out similar duties in the lower civil administration.

Each principal military command also had an Economic Section (Wirtschaftssektion), headed by a Special Representative of the Army Group (Sonderbevollmächtigter der Armeegruppe). It is likely that this Section was a subdivision of the office of the Chief of the Civil Administration. It operated principally through the national or local business associations, such as the Central Industrial Association (Zentralverband der Industrie), but could also be approached directly by individual businessmen in urgent cases. It was probably in charge of the disposition of Czechoslovak army stores and other stocks which were shipped to Germany in large quantities during the period of military occupation. One of its functions was to assure the flow of essential raw materials from abroad to Czech industry. 1/

Certain special functions were allotted to the Gestapo, particularly the granting of permits to leave the country. For the first few days of the occupation, the army also issued some permits, but by about 20 March this function had been transferred entirely to the Einsatzkommando of the Gestapo, which maintained offices for this purpose in Praha, Budějovice, Kolín, Pardubice, and Plzeň. 2/

With the exception of the functions specifically assigned to the German military and civil commanders and the Gestapo,

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1/ Prager Tagblatt, Praha, 19 March 1939.

2/ Prager Tagblatt, 26 March 1939.

as set forth above, the local Czech officials continued to function more or less normally. Certain regulations -- e.g., one limiting bank withdrawals during the emergency period -- were issued by the Czech ministries and municipalities "in accord with the executives of the Civil Administration of the Army Groups III and V". 1/ Laws and decrees were published "with the approval of the possessor of executive power" (i.e., the Supreme Commander of the Army). 2/ It is not quite clear just how this process operated. Probably many measures were simply handed to the government ready for publication, but some of lesser import may have been initiated by Czech officials and then sent to the Chief of the Civil Administration for approval before publication. It is known that the Czech government refused to promulgate the basic anti-Jewish laws demanded by the German government -- they were finally promulgated by the Reichsprotektor in June 1939 -- but whether this refusal occurred during the period of military government or after the civil government took over is not clear.

The German army was responsible for the maintenance of order, but the execution of this responsibility was chiefly in the hands of the Czech police, under the command of a few German army and police officers. The supervision of foreigners, which was later (September 1939) placed under the control of German officials, remained in the hands of the Czech police during the military occupation. (Germans, whether Reich citizens or Volksdeutsche, were, however, no longer considered as "foreigners"; many anti-Nazi German refugees, caught by the rapidity of the occupation, were arrested by the Gestapo during this period.) Police and judicial action pending against German nationals was suspended by order of the Chief of the Civil Administration, "except for urgent cases affecting the public safety," until the basic law defining the jurisdiction of German courts in the Protectorate was issued (14 April 1939). 3/ Arrests were made by both Czech and German police. Many of the arrests were "preventive," evidently based on a list prepared in advance. Others were made on the recommendation of local Volksdeutsche and Czech fascists, who also had prepared lists -- some of them based on mere personal antagonisms. A considerable number of the prisoners were released a few days later. Some were even frankly told that their arrests had been a mistake.

The handling of business firms during the period of military occupation presents a rather confused picture. At first no legal provisions existed for placing administrators in charge of business undertakings. Certain native fascist groups and individuals took it upon themselves to take charge of various firms and offices run by Jews and/or "political enemies." Both the German Army Command and the Czech authorities issued strong warnings against this unauthorized freebooting. The Supreme Commander of the Army published a decree

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1/ Prager Tagblatt, 19 March 1939.

2/ Sammlung der Gesetze und Verordnungen in Böhmen und Mähren, hereafter referred to as Sammlung. All laws published from 15 March to 16 April 1939 carry this statement in the preamble.

3/ Prager Tagblatt, 26 March 1939.

on 21 March 1939: "As possessor of executive power, I forbid the encroachment of individuals and organizations of the Protectorate /our italics/ on the administration, the organization (Vereinswesen) and the economy of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. Contraventions will be punished." 1/ Czech municipal and central authorities issued similar statements which were prominently displayed in the newspapers. At the same time the Protectorate government passed a law giving the competent ministries the right to appoint commissars in business undertakings "where the public interest requires it." 2/

Nothing is said in these statements regarding German individuals or organizations encroaching on the economy of the Protectorate. German commissars took charge in a number of offices, especially banks, during the first days of the occupation. In some cases they were Sudeten German employes of the firm who suddenly appeared armed with full powers of administration. Some of them were apparently appointed on a rather tenuous legal basis, for a later decree setting forth the powers of German officials to appoint commissars for Jewish firms and organizations was made retroactive, with an express provision that "commissars already appointed by the Oberlandräte, are to be considered as legally appointed under the present law." 3/

When the period of military government was terminated on 16 April 1939, and full powers handed over to the Reichsprotektor, some of the measures taken by the Chiefs of the Civil Administration remained in effect until specifically cancelled by new decrees. This was true, e.g., of the injunction against the transfer of Jewish real estate, cancelled by a provision in the Reichsprotektor's decree of June 1939. 4/ Provisions for liquidating certain types of organizations also remained in effect until the powers exercised by the Chief of the Civil Administration in this respect were formally transferred to the Reichsprotektor. 5/ The special decrees of 15 March concerning criminal law during the period of military occupation and the establishment of special courts were specifically cancelled as of 16 April. 6/ However, purely military measures were automatically cancelled without specific reference upon the withdrawal of the army administration.

1/ VBlRProt., p. 11

2/ Sammlung, 21 March 1939, effective 1 April 1939; a similar law for cooperatives (except cooperative banks) was issued on 6 April 1939.

3/ VBlRProt., 1939, p. 45, 21 June 1939, retroactive to 15 March 1939.

4/ Ibid.

5/ RGBl., 1939, I, 1012, 13 June 1939; VBlRProt., 1939 p.

6/ RGBl., 1939, I, p. 893, 27 April 1939.

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III. CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN THE PROTECTORATE, 16 APRIL 1939 TO THE PRESENT: GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The administration of the Protectorate is divided into two more or less parallel but frequently overlapping series of offices: the German administration and the autonomous Czech administration. Detailed descriptions will be found in the following chapters. In general, the situation is as follows:

1. German officials have exclusive jurisdiction over all matters affecting German citizens domiciled in the Protectorate (including all those former Czechoslovak citizens of German blood who became Reich citizens on 16 March 1939), and over certain specified administrative areas affecting both Czechs and Germans (foreign affairs, national defense, the punishment of certain crimes, etc.). They also exercise supervision over the entire autonomous Czech administration.

2. Subject to this supervision and to the exceptions noted above, the Protectorate government administers, through Czech officials, general administrative services for both Germans and Czechs, most matters affecting Czech nationals, practically all local and municipal government, and most of the Protectorate economy. In a few administrative branches, for example, the police, German officials may be in command of Czech organs; in others, there is a German representative assigned to the Czech executive body; in still others, German control is only indirect.

IV. THE BASIC LAW: THE PROTECTORATE DECREE OF 16 MARCH 1939 1/

As published in German sources, Hitler's decree establishing the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia invariably contains as an integral part the three paragraphs of "justification" preceding the actual legal provisions. It is alleged therein that the Bohemian-Moravian territory has belonged to the German Lebensraum for a thousand years, that the Reich could not permit any disturbances in this important neighboring territory, etc., etc., and concludes:

"Filled with the earnest desire to serve the true interests of the peoples living in this Lebensraum, to make secure the national life of the German and the Czech people, and to assure peace and social well-being, I hereby order, in the name of the German Reich, as the basis for the future common life of the inhabitants of this territory, the following:

"Article 1. 1) The parts of the former Czechoslovak Republic occupied by German troops in March 1939 from now on belong to the territory of the Greater German Reich, and, as "The Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia," are placed under its protection.

"2) In so far as the defense of the Reich requires, the Führer and Reichskanzler may issue orders changing this.

"Article 2. 1) The inhabitants of the Protectorate who are of German race become German nationals (Staatsangehörige) and, according to the provisions of the Reich Citizenship Law of 16 September 1935, Reich citizens (Reichsbürger). From now on, the laws for the protection of German blood and German honor are also valid for them. They come under the jurisdiction of German courts.

"2) The other inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia become nationals of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia (Protektoratsangehörige).

"Article 3. 1) The Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia is autonomous and governs itself.

"2) It exercises the sovereign rights belonging to it within the scope of the Protectorate in full accord with the political, military, and economic needs of the Reich.

"3) These sovereign rights are exercised through its own organs and its own offices with its own officials.

1/ Hereafter referred to as Protectorate Decree. For German text, cf. Appendix I. The text may be found in many sources: newspapers of 16 March 1939; RGBl; VBlRProt, etc. The English text given here is a complete translation, by the writer of the present report.

"Article 4. The chief of the autonomous administration of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia enjoys the protection and the honors accorded to the head of a state. For the exercise his office, the head of the Protectorate must have the confidence of the Fuhrer and Reichskanzler.

"Article 5. 1) The Führer and Reichskanzler appoints a "Reichsprotektor in Bohemia-Moravia," as defender of the interests of the Reich. His official seat is Praha.

"2) As representative of the Führer and Reichskanzler, and as delegate of the Reich government, the Reichsprotektor has the duty of carrying out the political directives of the Führer and Reichskanzler.

"3) The members of the Protectorate government must be approved by the Reichsprotektor. His approval may be withdrawn at any time.

"4) The Reichsprotektor is entitled to be informed about all measures taken by the Protectorate government and to give advice to that government. He can refuse to accept any measures which may harm the Reich, and, in urgent cases, he himself can issue the necessary orders dictated by the common interest.

"5) If the Reichsprotektor intervenes in such a case, the relevant laws, orders, other legal measures, administrative measures, and court decisions become invalid.

"Article 6. 1) The foreign affairs of the Protectorate, in particular the protection of its nationals abroad, are handled by the Reich. The Reich will direct these foreign affairs as required by the common interest.

"2) The Protectorate maintains a representative to the Reich government with the official title of "Minister."

"Article 7. 1) The Reich is responsible for the military protection of the Protectorate.

"2) In carrying out this protection, the Reich may maintain garrisons and military centers in the Protectorate.

"3) The Protectorate may establish its own units for the maintenance of internal security. The organization, strength, and armament of these units will be defined by the Reich government.

"Article 8. The Reich has direct supervision of transportation and communications in the Protectorate.

"Article 9. The Protectorate belongs to the customs territory of the German Reich and is under its customs sovereignty.

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"Article 10. 1) Along with the Reichsmark, the crown is also legal tender until further notice.

"2) The relation between the two currencies will be fixed by the Reich government.

"Article 11. 1) The Reich is entitled to issue laws valid for the Protectorate, in so far as the common interest requires.

"2) In so far as there is a common need, the Reich is entitled to take over into its own administration any administrative branch and to establish the necessary Reich offices for such branch.

"3) The Reich government is entitled to take all necessary measures for the maintenance of security and order. 1/

"Article 12. The laws at present valid in Bohemia-Moravia remain in effect, in so far as they are not contrary to the meaning of the assumption of protection by the German Reich.

"Article 13. The Reich Minister of the Interior, in accord with the interested Reich Ministers, issues the necessary legal and administrative measures for carrying out the present decree."

1/ Outstanding examples of such "necessary measures" are the two periods when a "state of civil emergency" was declared, in September 1941 and May-June 1942.
(33787)

V. THE GERMAN ADMINISTRATION IN THE PROTECTORATE

A. The Chief Executives: The Reichsprotektor and the German Minister of State for Bohemia-Moravia

Until August 1943 executive power in the German administration was formally centralized in the hands of the Reichsprotektor. This position was first held by Freiherr Konstantin von Neurath, who took office on 16 April 1939. He continued to hold the title until 20 August 1943, although he was relieved of his duties "for reasons of health" in September 1941. The position was then filled by Reinhard Heydrich, until his assassination in May 1942, and subsequently by Kurt Daluege, each with the title of Deputy Reichsprotektor. Since both men also held important positions elsewhere, the actual responsibility of the Reichsprotektor's office inevitably devolved more and more upon the one official who was always on the spot: the Permanent Deputy of the Reichsprotektor, SS-Obergruppenführer Karl Hermann Frank, formerly one of the more violent leaders of Henlein's Sudeten German Party in Czechoslovakia. On 20 August 1943, the factual situation was legalized by the creation of a German Ministry of State for Bohemia-Moravia, headed by Frank with the rank of a Reich Minister. The position of Reichsprotektor, to which former Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick was appointed, was stripped of most of its attributes, and Frank acquired in legal fact the powers he already exercised in practice. 1/ Their positions are now similar to those of a nearly powerless president or king and his prime minister in a parliamentary government.

Whereas formerly the Reichsprotektor was considered the sole representative of the Führer and of the Reich government in the Protectorate, he is now described as the representative of the Führer "in his capacity as head of the state." The Minister of State is entrusted with "the affairs of government relating to safeguarding the interests of the Reich in the Protectorate." The Reichsprotektor retains the following functions: 1) approving nominations to the autonomous Czech cabinet (the rest of German supervision over the Czech administration having fallen to the Minister of State); 2) the appointment and dismissal of German officials in the Protectorate (the actual supervision of their activities being exercised by the Minister of State); 3) the right to grant pardons and to quash legal decisions. 2/ The Minister of State has taken over all the rest of the German administration in the Protectorate; the Reichsprotektor's Office has become the German Ministry of State for Bohemia-Moravia; and German administrative officials and liaison officers of Reich organizations are now accredited to the Minister of State, instead of to the Reichsprotektor (except for the armed forces and the party organizations).

The joint powers of the Reichsprotektor and the German Minister of State are about the same as those previously attributed to the Reichsprotektor alone by the Protectorate

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1/ Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 16 October 1943.

2/ Neue Tag, Praha, 15 October 1943; German broadcast to Europe, 26 August and 2 September 1943 (FCC).

Decree and a series of supplementary decrees. 1/ The new set-up represents merely a redistribution of functions, not a fundamental change in the German administration. German sources describe it as the final determination of the permanent administrative status of the Protectorate. 2/

The powers shared by the Reichsprotektor and the Minister of State are almost unlimited. All Reich German officials in the Protectorate, with the sole exception of the armed forces, are responsible directly to them. In this respect, their position is comparable only to that of the Reichsstatthalter in the most recently organized Reichsgaue (Wartheland and Danzig-Westpreussen); in all other German administrative districts, including Austria and the Sudetenland, the chief official has no direct control over the administrative acts of certain branches of the government. In addition to this complete control over the German administrative system, the Reichsprotektor and the German Minister of State (mostly the latter) also exercise supervision over the entire autonomous Czech administration. They have the right to veto or change Czech legislation, or to override the Czech cabinet and legislate directly. When they do so, their decision is binding on all Protectorate officials, without recourse. No Czech administrative organ or court can set aside any law or decree issued by the Reichsprotektor or alter any cancellation or change in Protectorate legislation ordered by him.

B. German Administration on the Local Level

1. The Oberlandräte. Until May 1942, when there was an important reorganization in the German administration, there was only a single group of German officials at the local level: the fifteen (originally nineteen) Oberlandräte. Each Oberlandrat controlled a territory covering four to eight Political Districts. 3/ They were the direct deputies of the Reichsprotektor; within their own districts they had practically the same rights and duties as he exercised for the entire territory. They had charge of all matters concerning German citizens in their districts, and they supervised all local administrative organs of the Czech government. With a few exceptions, all officials, offices, and organs of the Reich within the district of an Oberlandrat were responsible directly to the Oberlandrat, and only through him to the Reichsprotektor. 4/ Only one of the Oberlandräte had any

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1/ RGBl., 1939, I, 549, 22 March 1939; p. 1039, 6 June 1939; p. 1681, 1 September 1939.

2/ Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 16 October 1943.

3/ Politische Bezirk (Politický okres) -- the local administrative unit of the Czech government, corresponding roughly to the French departément. See Appendix II for list.

4/ RGBl., 1940, I, 1681, 1 September 1939. The exceptions were: the army, the judiciary, the customs administration, the Reich Labor Service, the Reich Railroads, and the Reich Post Office. These are the administrative branches customarily excepted from the competence of the chief administrative officials elsewhere in the Reich (see above).

responsibilities outside his own district. The Oberlandrat of Praha had attached to his office two departments administering insurance and social welfare for German citizens throughout the Protectorate. 1/ The imporatnce of the Oberlandrat's position may be judged from the provisions made for his compensation: he received the same salary as a Landrat in Germany proper, but for purposes of calculating pension and seniority rights his period of service was reckoned at double the actual time served. 2/

2. The Reichsauftragsverwaltungen (RAV). By a decree of 7 May 1942 Hitler empowered the Reichsprotektor to make such changes in the administration as were necessary to adjust to war conditions. 3/ There followed a thoroughgoing reorganization in all branches. The first major changes concerned the local administrations. By a decree of 23 May 1942, effective 15 June, 4/ many of the duties of the Oberlandräte and also a number of duties of the Reichsprotektor himself were transferred to officials of the Czech autonomous government, who were designated as Reichsauftragsverwaltungen (RAV) 5/ in so far as these duties were concerned, while retaining their previous titles and responsibilities for the rest of their ordinary work under the Czech government. 6/ Only seven Oberlandräte remained in office, located in Praha, Plzeň, České Budějovice, Hradec Králové, Brno, Jihlava, and Moravská Ostrava. It has not been possible to ascertain exactly the present scope of their work. Since August 1943 they have been made directly responsible to the Minister of State rather than to the Reichsprotektor, with the title of Oberlandrat-Inspekteur des deutschen Staatsministers in Böhmen und Mähren. 7/

It is not known in detail what functions were turned over to the RAV, as the decree is vague on details. Four different types of administration received the new designation:

1/ Versicherungsamt and Reichsversorgung, which includes special extra food rations for German citizens in certain circumstances. Adressbuch der Beschaffungsbehörden, November 1941, Vol. II, (OSS microfilm).

2/ RGBl., 1940, I, 1078, 5 August 1940.

3/ RGBl., 1942, I, 329. Similar measures were taken throughout the Reich at this time.

4/ VBlRProt., p. 118; summary in Taschenbuch für Verwaltungsbeamte ..., 1942, p. 765 (OSS microfilm).

5/ Literally "administration in behalf of the Reich."

6/ This mixed administration is similar to, and bears the same title as, one of the traditional forms of municipal self-government familiar for many years in Germany, under which the municipal administration was responsible for city affairs in the usual manner, but in addition exercised certain other functions as the direct delegate of the central government.

7/ Neue Tag, 13 June 1942, 10 October and 6 November 1943.

1) the two Provincial Presidencies of Bohemia and Moravia (Landesbehörde); 2) the Chiefs of fifteen of the seventy-one Political Districts (Bezirkshauptmänner); 3) the Mayors of the five cities with special statutes (Praha, Plzeň, Brno, Olomouc, and Moravská Ostrava); 4) the Protectorate police headquarters in the same five cities. The decree states that the duties and rights of the Oberlandrat which in the rest of the Reich would be performed by the lower administrative officials are now to be handled by the Chiefs of Political Districts and the Mayors and police officials in the cities with special statutes. Those duties and rights of the Oberlandrat and the Reichsprotektor which in the rest of the Reich would be handled by the higher administrative officials go over to the Provincial Presidencies. The Czech officials who now perform such duties "in behalf of the Reich" are obliged to obey the instructions of the appropriate Reich offices. Their work as RAV officials is supervised by a special section in the Ministry of State, while for the rest of the work they continue to be responsible to the Czech Ministry of the Interior.

In connection with this reorganization the total number of Political Districts in the Protectorate was reduced from ninety-one to seventy-one. Only fifteen of the Political District Chiefs were given the designation of RAV; their jurisdiction corresponds roughly to the areas previously covered by the fifteen Oberlandräte. 1/

C. The German Ministry of State for Bohemia-Moravia

Before the reorganization of August 1943, the order of authority in the German administration descended from the Reichsprotektor to the Secretary of State, who was also chief of the SS and police in the Protectorate, and the Under Secretary of State, who was also the administrative chief of the German officials (Chef der Zentralverwaltung). The two Secretaryships have been abolished, and the men holding these titles have been transferred to other duties. Frank, who was Secretary of State, has become Minister of State, and Under Secretary of State Kurt von Burgsdorff has become Governor of Kraków in the General Government. 2/

Below these three top officials was the Office of the Reichsprotektor, which has now become the German Ministry of State for Bohemia-Moravia. The Ministry is divided into functional departments (Abteilungen) covering every phase of life in the Protectorate. Alongside the functional setup stand a series of autonomous organs responsible to the Minister of State (formerly to the Reichsprotektor): special trustees for branches of the Protectorate economy especially important to the war effort; liaison officers of various Reich organizations; the Film Censorship Office, etc.

The administrative organization of the Ministry of State is determined by the Minister of State (formerly by

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1/ For list, cf. Appendix III.

2/ Bern wire, 26 November 1943, quoting Krakauer Zeitung 20-22 November 1943.

the Reichsprotektor), in consultation with the Reich Ministry of the Interior. 1/ According to a decree of 4 November 1943, the office is now organized as follows: 2/

Central Office

1. Office of the Minister

   Attached to this office: Liaison Officer of the Reich Labor Service

2. Central Administration

   a) General Services

   b) Budget

   c) Personnel Questions

   d) Finance (Oberkasse)

   e) Testing Office (Vorprüfstelle)

3. Comptroller's Office (Oberste Rechnungskontrolle)

Department I: Ordinary and Internal Administration

1. Reich supervision of the ordinary and internal administration of the Protectorate, including the Reichsauftragsverwaltung (except health and veterinary affairs); matters concerning the state sovereignty of the Reich; space planning (Raumordnung), archives, sport

2. Matters concerning the defense of the Reich

3. Reich supervision of health services in the Protectorate; German health services

4. Reich supervision of veterinary matters in the Protectorate; questions concerning the German Veterinary Chamber

5. Youth

6. Universities

Also attached to Dept. I: Trustee for Organizations

Department II: Justice

1. Reich supervision of Protectorate criminal law and procedure (Strafjustiz); German criminal law and procedure

2. Reich supervision of Protectorate civil law and procedure (Ziviljustiz); German civil law and procedure

3. Justitiariat

1/ RGBl., 1939, I, 1,681, 1 September 1939.

2/ Neue Tag, 6 November 1943.

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Department III: Schools

1. Reich supervision of Protectorate school administration and cultural affairs; German Academy of Science

2. Reich supervision of Protectorate schools, including normal schools; Reich supervision of popular education and science in the Protectorate

Department IV: Cultural Policy (Kulturpolitik)

1. Ordinary cultural affairs, literature, theater and film, music and plastic arts; questions concerning the Reich Chamber of Culture

2. Propaganda

3. Press

4. Radio

Department V: Economics and Labor

1. Reich supervision of economic administration in the Protectorate, including banks and currency

2. Reich supervision of Protectorate labor administration

3. Reich supervision of Protectorate price policy

4. Reich supervision of Protectorate forest economy
   Also attached to Dept. V: Central Office for Public Contracts; Liaison Office to the Trade Unions

Department VI: Food Supply and Agriculture

1. Reich supervision of agriculture and agricultural products

2. Reich supervision of food supply and public consumption needs (öffentliche Bedarfsdeckung)

3. Reich supervision of agricultural training, finance and cooperatives, and the Union of Agriculture and Forestry

Department VII: Finance

1. Reich supervision of the Protectorate financial administration

2. Administration of customs, excise taxes, and Reich monopolies

3. Reich property administration

Department VIII: Transport and Technics

1. Reich supervision of Protectorate transport

2. Reich supervision of Protectorate technical administration

3. Trustee for Local Transport

4. Trustee for Waterways

5. Administration of Construction (Hochbau) and of the buildings belonging to the Reich
Also attached to Dept. VIII: Delegate of the Reich Civil Aviation Administration; Delegate of the Central Office for Generators

Department IX: Communications and Mails

1. Reich supervision of Protectorate communications

2. Reich supervision of Protectorate mail service

3. German Official Mail (Deutsche Dienstpost)

Also under the Ministry of State:

Commander of Order Police

1. Reich supervision of uniformed Protectorate police and Protectorate Administrative Police, except those functions which come under the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service

2. Air-raid precautions and Technische Nothilfe

Commander of Security Police and Security Service

1. Reich supervision of non-uniformed Protectorate police and certain functions of the Protectorate Administrative Police

2. Matters concerning Reich Administrative Police

The Oberlandräte, in their capacity as Inspectors of the German Ministry of State for Bohemia-Moravia

Comparison with the Office of the Reichsprotektor's (see below) will show that the present decree is much franker about the actual functions of the German administration in the Protectorate, indicating clearly the areas of "Reich supervision." There is little change in the functional distribution within the office, and it is probable that both the personnel and the administrative system were taken over more or less intact from the outgoing administration.

D. The Office of the Reichsprotektor

The organization of the Ministry of State is so recent that little information as to personnel or subdivisions within the Departments is yet available. It therefore seems useful to give here also the organization of the preceding German administration, the Office of the Reichsprotektor, on which there is more detailed information.

The Office of the Reichsprotektor originally had only four departments. In 1942 it was thoroughly reorganized, emerging with nine departments, of which three were designated

as Principal Departments (Hauptabteilungen). According to the reorganization decree of 25 November 1942, 1/ the Office was set up as follows: 2/

I. (Principal Department) Central Administration and General Internal Administration

1. Central and Personnel Administration

2. General and Municipal Administration

3. Health and Veterinary Affairs

4. Space Planning, City Planning (Städtebau), Building Police, Topographical Survey (Vermessung)

5. Youth (Staatsjugend) (Gebietsführer Knoop)

6. Universities 3/

II. Administration of Justice

III. Administration of Schools (Ministerialrat Dr. Heckel, who is at the same time a Generalreferent in the Czech Ministry of Schools)

IV. Cultural Policy (Kulturpolitik) (SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Wolf, who is also Special Deputy for the Reich Propaganda Leadership)
Two subdivisions have been identified:

Theater (Oberregierungsrat Dr. Fritz Oehmke)

Press (SS-Hauptsturmführer Regierungsrat Wolfram von Wolmar)

General Inspector of Administration (Generalmajor der Polizei Reinefahrt). Probably coordinates the administration of Departments I-IV, in a position analagous to that of Himmler in Germany as Commissioner General for Administration in the Ministerial Council for the Defense of the Reich

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1/ VBlRProt., 1942, p. 307.

2/ The departments were divided into functional units (Sachgebiete); these were usually designated as Gruppen or Referate. Those which have been identified are listed in the table. In parentheses are the names of the chiefs of departments or sub-groups, in so far as they have been identified. Their names are taken from various newspaper and other sources (mostly the Neue Tag) dated subsequently to November 1942.

3/ The German University in Praha and the German Institutes of Technology in Praha and Brno became Reich property in August 1939 and are administered directly by the Reich Ministry of Education. Cf. RGBl., 1939, I, 1371, 2 August 1939. The Czech universities were closed in November 1939.

V. (Principal Department) Economics and Labor (Wirtschaft und Arbeit)

1. Economics (Ministerialrat Erich von Wedelstädt)

One subdivision has been identified:

Foreign Trade (Regierungsrat Dipl.-Kfm. Springer)

2. Labor

3. Prices (Preisbildung) (Ministerialrat Dr. von Busse, who is also chief of the Supreme Price Control Office under the Czech government)

4. Reichsbank (Reichsbankdirektor Dr. Friedrich Müller, who is also Special Delegate of the Reichsbank to the National Bank of Bohemia-Moravia)

5. Forestry (Landforstmeister Pflanz)

VI. Agriculture (SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Viktor Schmidt)

Two subdivisions have been tentatively identified:

Agricultural Machinery (Dipl.-Ing. Metzenthin)

Animal Husbandry (Regierungsrat Dr. Wiarda)

VII. Finance (Dr. Karl Gross, who is also Oberfinanzpräsident of Praha, administering all Reich customs, taxes, etc., collected in the Protectorate)

VIII. (Principal Department) Transportation and Technical Questions (Ministerialrat Walter Danvo)

1. Transportation:

Three subdivisions have been identified:

Railroads (Danco)

Waterways (Oberregierungsrat Hirche)

Motor Transport (Oberregierungsrat Kapuste)

IX. Communications and Mail

Since some of the subdivisions under the 1942 reorganization have not been identified, it is worth-while to examine also the detailed list of functional divisions as they appeared before June 1942, in order to obtain a clearer idea of the scope of the Office of the Reichsprotektor. The organization at that time was as follows: 1/

1/ Taschenbuch für Verwaltungsbeamte, op. cit., pp. 190ff.; Adressbuch der Beschaffungsbehörden, op. cit.; for names of personnel, also a few newspaper sources. It is likely that many of the chiefs named in this list continued to hold similar positions in both subsequent reorganizations; they are however not listed there unless some indication subsequent to November 1942 has been obtained.

Central Administration: Administration and Organization of the Office, Personnel Administration, Budget, Construction (Hochbau), Principal Office (Hauptbüro), Procurement, Finance (Zentralkasse), Testing Office (Vorprüfstelle). (Ministerialrat Liebenow)

Departments: I. Administration, Justice, Education. (Ministerialdirigent Dr. Fuchs)

Group 1. Constitutional Law, Ordinary Political Matters, Volkstum, Organizations, Provincial Administration, Civil Service Law, Personnel Questions affecting Protectorate Employes (Oberregierungsrat L. Hufnagel, temporarily on military service; deputy: Oberregierungsrat Dr. Landmann)

2. Supervision of Local Administration, Family Welfare, Reparations (probably the payment of damages to Sudeten Germans who were injured in the course of fighting the Czechs before Munich), Youth Welfare, Publication of Laws (Verkündungswesen), Justiciary, Collaboration in Questions of Police Law and Police Administration (Ministerialrat Dr. Nobis)

3. Sovereign Functions (Hoheitssachen), Citizenship, Protection of Race and Blood, Vital Statistics, Sport, Archives, Statistics, Topographical Survey (Regierungsrat Dr. Mokry)

4. Not listed

5. Youth (Hauptbannführer Zoglmann who went on military service early in 1943, was succeeded by Gebietsführer Knoop)

6. Medical and Health (Oberregierungsrat Dr. Plato)

7. Veterinary Affairs (Ministerialrat Dr. Eccard)

8. Space Planning (Ministerialrat Dr. Fischer)

9. Justice (Ministerialrat Dr. Helmut Krieser)

10. Elementary and Middle Schools, Trade Schools (Ministerialrat Dr. Hansel)

11. Universities, Religion, Popular Education (Volksbildung) (Ministerialrat Dr. Hansel)

12. Trustee for Organizations (i.e., liquidator of dissolved Czech organizations such as the Sokol, and supervisor of those which have not yet been liquidated) (Oberbereichsleiter Neuburg, temporarily on military service; deputy: Abschnittsleiter Hellmann)

Also under Department I are the following special units:

I-W Military, Reich defense (Generalintendent Karl Jausch, who is also head of the Praha Military Administration)

I-Bau Building Police, Building Law, Planning, Housing and Settlement (Oberregierungs-Baurat Bollacher)

I-L Representative of the Reich Air Ministry (for Civil Aviation)

I-RKB Liaison Officer of the Reich Veterans Organization (Reichskriegerbund)

I-RAD Liaison Officer of the Reich Labor Service

II. Economy and Labor (Ministerialdirigent Walter Bertsch, who became Minister of Economics and Labor in the Protectorate cabinet on 19 January 1942)

Group 1. Economics (von Wedelstädt)

2. Food Supply and Agriculture

3. Forestry (Landforstmeister Pflanz)

4. Labor and Social Questions (Ministerialrat Dr. Dennler)

5. Prices (Ministerialrat Dr. von Busse)

6. Reichsbank (Reichsbankdirektor Dr. Friedrich Müller)

7. Finance (Oberfinanzpräsident Gross)

III. Transport (Ministerialrat Walter Danco)

Group 1. General Transport, Railroads (Danco)

2. Highway Transport, General Trustee for Local Transport (Nahverkehr) (Oberregierungsrat Kapuste)

3. Waterway Transport and Shipping (Oberregierungs-Baurat Hirche)

4. Mails (Ministerialrat Hroch)

5. Highway Construction (Präsident Bauder)

IV. Cultural Policy (Dr. Freiherr von Gregory, currently assigned to Reich Propaganda Ministry, was succeeded in 1942 by SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Wolf. The chief of this department was at the same time Press Chief of the Reichsprotektor, Cultural Administrator (Kulturwalter) for the Reichsprotektor, and Special Deputy for the Reich Propaganda Leadership of the NSDAP. Two special offices were attached to this Department, one for the Press Chief, the other for the Cultural Administrator, Gerhard Götz.)

Group 1. General Cultural Questions, Theater, Tourism, Congresses (Oberregierungsrat Dr. Danzmann)

2. Propaganda, Cultural Policy, Volkstum, Film, Music, Plastic Arts (Dipl.-Ing. Oberregierungsrat Zankl)

3. Press (Regierungsrat Wolfram von Wolmar)

4. Radio (Scurla)

Also under the Reichsprotektor:

Central Construction Office (Oberregierungs-Baurat Bollacher)

Property Office (Oberregierungsrat Schmeisser)

E. Other German Officials

1. Military

a. Regular Military Units. The armed forces constitute the only German agency in the Protectorate which is legally completely independent of the Reichsprotektor. Nevertheless, as in the rest of the Reich, the army works in close liaison with civilian agencies. The commander of the armed forces in the Protectorate, Armored Force General Schaal, has the title of Plenipotentiary of the Armed Forces to the Reichsprotektor (Wehrmacht-bevollmächtigter beim Reichsprotektor). There is also a subsection for military affairs in the German Ministry of State which serves as a liaison office between the military and civilian agencies.

The Protectorate is designated as a Military District (Wehrkreis), though it is not numbered as are those in the Reich proper. General Schaal is also Commander of the Military District. 1/ The district is subdivided 2/ into four Recruiting Areas (Wehrbezirke), with headquarters at Praha, Budějovice, Brno, and Olomouc, and these in turn into nine sub-areas (Wehrmeldebezirke), each with further subdivisions which originally corresponded to the nineteen Oberlandrat districts but which may have been changed during the administrative reorganization of 1942. The civilian part of recruiting is one of the functions shifted from the Oberlandrat to the Political District Chiefs in connection with this reorganization.

1/ Neue Tag, 15 September 1943.

2/ VBlRProt., 1939, p. 285, 15 September 1939.

The Reich secured full ownership of all the property, buildings, installations, and equipment of the Czechoslovak army, air force, and weather bureau, as of 15 March 1939. 1/

The German army maintains a number of permanent garrisons in the Protectorate. The plan in 1939 was to establish permanent garrisons in the "German cities" (a designation which usually includes Praha, Brno, Jihlava, Budějovice, Olomouc, and Moravská Ostrava). In the purely Czech centers there were to be frequent changes of garrison troops. 2/

Attached to each garrison is a civilian organization in charge of the "army firms" (Heeresbetriebe), under a Standortobmann from the Army Office of the German Labor Front (DAF-Amt Heer). 3/ These firms employ large numbers of civilian workers. They handle repairs and maintenance of equipment, uniforms, etc., for the garrison, and possibly also do some primary manufacturing for them. Other army supplies, particularly food, are purchased from local firms by the use of special certificates (Bezugsscheine) issued through the office of the District Chief-RAV. 4/

Military aviation in the Protectorate does not have a separate command, but is included in the Luftgau XVII, headquarters Wien, comprising Austria, the Protectorate, and parts of the Sudetenland and Silesia. 5/ Plants working for the Luftwaffe in the Protectorate have a civilian organization for the labor force, under the Air Force Office of the Labor Front (DAF-Amt Luftwaffe), similar to that for the army garrisons. 6/

Beside the regular army, there are also Waffen-SS units stationed in the Protectorate, under the command of SS-Gruppenführer und Generalleutnant der Waffen-SS Georg Keppler. In February 1943 a Feldgendarmerie Regiment Böhmen-Mähren was organized. 7/

b. Paramilitary Organizations. The German auxiliary military organizations also have sections in the Protectorate, their membership being confined to German citizens.

The NSKK (National Socialist Motor Corps) maintains a regional unit in the Protectorate, the Motorstandarte M-214 Prag, which is administratively autonomous but is attached to the Sudeten unit of the NSKK, the Motorgruppe Egerland. The commander of the Motorgruppe Egerland, SA-Obergruppenführer

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1/ RGBl., 1939, I, 1,237, 12 July 1939.

2/ Praha press, 18 April 1939.

3/ Neue Tag, 17 December 1942.

4/ VBlRProt., 1939, p. 315, 25 November 1939.

5/ Prager Tagblatt, 19 March 1939; Neue Tag, 16 June 1943. The commander is Aviation General Frohlish (Neue Tag, 19 September 1943).

6/ Neue Tag, 16 June 1943.

7/ Praha domestic broadcast, 2 February 1943 (BBC).

Müller-Seyffert, is at the same time NSKK Liaison Officer to the German Minister of State for Bohemia-Moravia. The Motorstandarte Prag has various sub-groups similar to those elsewhere in the Reich. For example, it recently established a new motorboat unit to train Hitler Youth members for "Pioneer-Stormboat" detachments. 1/

The NSFK (National Socialist Flying Corps) established a unit (Sturm 18/40) for both Sudetenland and the Protectorate on 17 April 1939. It was based originally on the 120 members of the Union of German Flyers (Verband deutscher Flieger) of Czecho-Slovakia, of which the most important section was the Akaflieg (Akademische Fliegergruppe) attached to the German Institute of Technology in Praha. In October 1941 the NSFK founded a Hitler Youth flying unit in Prague. The practice field is located at Rannay, near Louny, close to the Protectorate-Sudetenland frontier. 2/

The pre-military training program of the Hitler Youth operates in the Protectorate in the same way as in the Reich. It has such units as Flieger-HJ (aviation), Nachrichten-HJ (communications), Motor-HJ, and Marine-HJ. 3/

The Technische Nothilfe (Technical Emergency Help), which is under the Commander of the Order Police in the German Ministry of State, is commanded by Bereitschaftsführer Eisner. It has "readiness stations" throughout the country. 4/

The Protectorate forms the 38th Labor District (Arbeitsgau) of the German Labor Service for men, under Arbeitsgauführer R. Leitner and his deputy, Oberstarbeitsführer Deppe, and the 24th District for women. The Central Office (RAD-Hauptmeldeamt) is at Praha, and there are four sub-offices (RAD-Meldeämter) at Praha, Olomouc, Brno, and Budějovice. Under these are various labor camps, divisions, and groups. 5/

2. Police. The highest police official in the Protectorate is Minister of State SS-Obergruppenführer K.H. Frank, who is Higher SS and Police Leader (Hohere SS- und Polizeiführer). Under him are the commanders of the two branches of the German police.-- Order Police and Security Police. His command over the Security Police is, of course, limited by the fact that in certain cases the Security Service has the power to override him on orders from Himmler, as elsewhere in the Reich.

a. The Order Police (Ordnungspolizei). The Commander of the German Order Police in the Protectorate, Generalleutnant der Polizei Riege, is at the same time Commander of the Uniformed Protectorate Police. All uniformed police units in the Protectorate are thus under one centralized

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1/ Neue Tag, 14 July and 14 October 1943.

2/ Neue Tag, 19 April 1943.

3/ Ibid., 14 September 1943.

4/ Protectorate domestic broadcast, 17 May 1943 (BBC).

5/ Adressbuch der Beschaffungsbehörden, op. cit.; Neue Tag, 30 June, 19 July, 7 September 1943.

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control. It is likely that there are comparatively few units of the German Order Police in the Protectorate, except in the few regions where there are concentrated German settlements. In general, the Czech police continue to handle all routine police functions such as traffic control and apprehension of common criminals. The Czech uniformed police include both German and Czech nationals in their membership. 1/

b. The Security Police and Security Service (Sicherheitspolizei und Sicherheitsdienst). The commander of this service is SS-Standartenführer Erich Weinmann. The jurisdiction of the service is defined as follows:

"The organs of the German Security Police in the Protectorate have the duty of investigating and repressing all activities inimical to the State and the Volk, collecting evidence on such activities, and keeping the Reichsprotektor and his officials informed. 2/ In "political-police matters" (i.e., cases of treason, subversive activities, etc.) all German and Czech officials in the Protectorate are obliged to obey the instructions of the State Police Directorate (Staatspolizeileitstelle); officials of the Czech autonomous government must in addition obey the instructions of the Gestapo in such matters.

As in the rest of the Reich, the Security Police in the Protectorate has two main divisions, functioning through offices similar to those elsewhere in the Reich.

1) The State Police (Staatspolizei) and Gestapo. These agencies work through two State Police Directorates -- at Praha (Chief: SS-Obersturmbannführer Oberregierungsrat Gehrke) and at Brno. Under these are a number of State Police Offices (Staatspolizeistellen), including one at Praha. 3/ The locations of the others have not yet been identified. The Central Office for Jewish Emigration is also administered by the Security Police.

2) The Criminal Police. This branch of the police carries out duties connected with the application of German criminal law in the Protectorate: i.e., it handles criminal cases involving Germans and also specified cases involving non-Germans, except those political matters handled by the State Police and Gestapo. A Criminal Police Directorate (Kriminalpolizeileitstelle) is located at Praha (Chief: SS-Obersturmbannführer Regierungs- Kriminaldirektor Friedrich Sowa); there is probably also one at Brno. Under these are several Criminal Police Offices (Kriminalpolizeistellen), whose locations have not yet been identified. 4/

1/ Neue Tag, 3 February 1943; Adressbuch der Beschaffungsbehörden, op. cit.; Praha radio, 25 August 1942 (FCC).

2/ Basic decree defining the jurisdiction of the Security Police in the Protectorate, RGBl., 1939, I, 1681, 1 September 1939. Most of the following section is based on this decree.

3/ Neue Tag, 4 July 1943.

4/ There is one at Brno. Neue Tag, 4 September 1943.

The German Criminal Police exercise administrative supervision (sachliche Aufsicht) over the Protectorate Criminal Police "as far as this is necessary to promote the common aims." Protectorate police officials are obliged to obey the orders of the German Criminal Police in such cases. This indicates a less direct administrative responsibility than in the case of the Order Police, where the German commander directly controls both the German and the Czech units.

3. Others. Most German organizations have sections in the Protectorate, generally limited to German citizens.

a. The German Labor Front (DAF). The German Labor Front has responsibility for all Germans employed in the Protectorate. Its position was defined in great detail by a decree of 14 September 1939, "Concerning the Care of Productive Germans in the Protectorate" (Über die Betreuung der schaffenden Deutschen im Protektorat). 1/

According to this decree, in all firms where the employer and the workers are German, the DAF takes complete charge, appointing a Plant Foreman (Betriebsobmann) and a Council of Trust (Vertrauensrat), subject to the approval of the Reichsprotektor. In firms where the employer is German but the workers are of mixed nationality the DAF also takes charge, with the same officials, but its activities do not extend to the Czechs among the workers (who are cared for by the Czech labor organization, NOUZ). If there are less than five German workers in such a plant, no Plant Foreman is appointed, but the German workers are under the control of the local DAF official (Ortsobmann). Firms with a Czech employer and mixed or purely Czech working force are not considered as "German firms" and do not come within the scope of DAF activities; however, if there are five or more German workers they are entitled to representation by a Spokesman (Sprecher), appointed by the Reichsprotektor on nomination by the local DAF official.

The administration and activities of the DAF's Protectorate section are similar to those of the parent organization in the Reich. There is a branch of the DAF subdivision, Kraft durch Freude, in the Protectorate. The DAF also cooperates with other organizations for various purposes. For example, it operates hostels for German apprentices and young German workers near some of the big industrial plants, jointly with the Hitler Youth, 2/ and cooperates with the Czech trade-union organization, NOUZ, in operating training courses for Protectorate workers. 3/

b. The German Red Cross. This organization has a regional office (Landesstelle) in the Protectorate, under Minister of State K. H. Frank as DRK-Landesführer, and Dr. Plato as Deputy Landesführer. 4/

1/ VBlRProt., 1939, p. 142.

2/ Neue Tag, 24 January 1942, which describes the opening of one of these hostels at Přívoz.

3/ Berliner Börsenzeitung, 8 September 1942.

4/ Adressbuch der Beschaffungsbehörden, op. cit.; Neue Tag, 6 November 1943.

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c. Cultural Organizations. Various cultural organizations have sections in the Protectorate. The Association of the German Press (Reichsverband der deutschen Presse) has a Regional Association (Landesverband) for Bohemia-Moravia, whose leader is Karl Ansorge, Chief of the Prague Division of the DNB, and the Association of German Publishers has a Regional Association under Anton Langhans, publisher of the Neue Tag. 1/

F. The Party

The Nazi Party existed in Bohemia-Moravia even before the German occupation. Prior to Munich, the Sudeten German Party under Konrad Henlein was organized along lines parallel to the NSDAP, though appearing on the surface to have no connection with it. As a result of the Munich agreement, rump Czecho-Slovakia felt obliged to grant the German minority special privileges, including the right to join the NSDAP and to display Nazi symbols. The old Sudeten German Party formed the nucleus of the new groups, but the reorganization was gradual and was not complete when the German occupation took place. After the occupation, the NSDAP moved rapidly and systematically to embrace the entire German population of the Protectorate within the Nazi Party system. Today every Party organization in the Reich has its counterpart in the Protectorate: the Party itself, the SS and SA, the NS-Frauenschaft, the Hitler Youth, the League of German Girls, the NS-Studentenbund, NS-Kriegerbund, and all the rest. These are of course restricted to the German sector of the population. 2/

In contrast to some other occupied areas, the Party is not directly identified with most of the governmental administration in the Protectorate. The Reichsprotektor, Frick, is a Reich Leader in the NSDAP, but has not been prominent in the Party leadership. The Minister of State, Frank, is a high official in the SS and a former leader in the Sudeten German Party in Czecho-Slovakia, but at present, as far as is known, he does not hold any Party office outside the SS. There is a Party Liaison Office in the Protectorate (under Permanent Deputy Director Oberbereichsleiter Schulte-Schomburg), which is organized into departments covering all phases of party activity. At least two high Party officials function

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1/ Lidové Noviny, Brno, 3 December 1941; Neue Tag, 12 May 1943.

2/ It is difficult to estimate the exact number of Germans resident in the Protectorate. There were 450,000-odd Sudeten Germans in Bohemia-Moravia at the end of 1938, all of whom became Reich citizens on 15 March 1939. There are about 100,000 German army, SS, and police members stationed in the Protectorate, and perhaps 25,000-30,000 administrative officials. The number of Reich German businessmen and workers cannot be closely estimated, but is probably not above 20,000-25,000. Thus, in a total population of 7,380,000 (the official 1940 figure, which specifically excludes all Germans who immigrated since March 1939), there are possibly 500,000 Germans aside from those in the armed forces and police. One possible check on this figure is a list of the number of pieces of clothing contributed by Germans in the special winter collection of January 1942, which also totals about 500,000. (Neue Tag, 18 January 1943.) In recent months, the German population of the Protectorate has been temporarily increased by thousands of evacuees from bombed areas in the Reich; these are not included in the above calculations.

actively within the German Ministry of States: the Chief of the Cultural Policy Department, SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Wolf, who is a Special Deputy of the NSDAP's Reich Propaganda Leadership, and the Trustee for Organizations (in April 1942 Oberbereichsleiter Neuburg). The rest of the Ministry seems to be staffed mostly with technical experts who do not carry on active Party work. At the lower administrative levels, there are a few minor functionaries who are also minor party leaders. In general, the Party hierarchy in the Protectorate seems to be rather clearly divorced from the administrative hierarchy.

The Protectorate does not constitute a separate Party District (Gau), but is divided among the following Gaue: Sudetenland (which covers the major part), Bayreuth, Oberdonau, and Niederdonau. Within these districts, Protectorate Germans are organized into nine Kreise, distributed as follows: 1/

Sudetenland: Praha (the Kreisleiter is Oberbereichsleiter Karl Adam, who is also the Gauleiter's deputy for all the Protectorate Kreise in the Reichsgau Sudetenland); Moravská Ostrava (Ing. Wilhelm Heinz); Hradec Králové (Erich Schuh); Olomouc (Dipl.-Ing. Herbert Schmelzle); and Plzeň (Georg Wollner)

Bayreuth: Klatovy (Dauchert)

Oberdonau: Budějovice (Walter Gasthuber)

Niederdonau: Brno (Dipl.-Ing. Karl Folta); and Jihlava (Kreisleiter not yet identified)

The Kreise are in turn subdivided into Ortsgruppen. Praha, for example has twelve.

Although the Protectorate is attached to party Gaue beyond its boundaries, no Protectorate Kreis includes any territory outside Bohemia-Moravia, and, with a single exception, 2/ no outside Kreis includes any Protectorate territory.

Some of the Party organizations and affiliates follow the administrative division of the main Party offices, but others have separate regional units for the Protectorate. A few examples follow:

The Hitler Youth, which took over all the former German youth organizations in the Protectorate in April 1939, 3/ has a separate Regional Command (Befehlsstelle Böhmen und Mähren), under Gebietsführer Knoop. The Leader of the League of German Girls in the Protectorate is Hauptmädelführerin Erika Ebel.

1/ Neue Tag, 15 January 1942.

2/ The town of Jindřichův Hradec, which belongs to the Kreis Neubistritz (former Czechoslovak territory), in the Reichsgau Niederdonau. (Neue Tag, 9 April 1942.)

3/ Praha press, 23 April 1939

The Party sport organization recently amalgamated the German sport groups of the Protectorate into a regional command, the Sportsgau Böhmen und Mähren, No. 43 in the Reich, led by SS-Obersturmbannführer Max Kopischke. 1/

The NSV (National Socialist Welfare Organization) apparently has no separate regional unit for the Protectorate, but carries out its activities from the various Gau headquarters. It is reported to have three thousand volunteer helpers in the Protectorate, and maintains youth hostels, infant homes, recuperation homes, etc. 2/ The NSV came in with the German troops on 15 March 1939, and for a few weeks ostentatiously maintained soup kitchens for the needy of both German and Czech nationality. On 20 April it ceased giving aid to Czech nationals and established a far-flung organization for Germans only. 3/ (The Czechs have their own welfare organization, called "Social Aid.")

1/ DNB, 10 February 1943, News Digest 1056

2/ Neue Tag, 31 August 1942.

3/ Praha press, 12 May 1939.

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VI. THE LEGAL SYSTEM AND THE COURTS

A. The Legal System

Czechoslovak law still constitutes the basic part of the legal system in the Protectorate, although many new measures have been superimposed upon it. Czechoslovak laws remain in effect until changed or superseded by new legislation, except where they are "contrary to the meaning of the assumption of protection by the German Reich." The decision as to which provisions are to be nullified rests with the Reichsprotektor, who must publish his decisions in the Verordnungsblatt. 1/ In some cases, the import of the law is changed instead of cancelling the law itself. For example, the 1936 Czechoslovak "law for the defense of the state" was specifically maintained in effect, but its provisions were declared to operate in favor of the Reich instead of the Czechoslovak government. 2/ In other cases the old Czechoslovak laws are specifically invalidated only when the corresponding Reich laws are introduced into the Protectorate. 3/

The various legal gazettes issued in the Reich are also valid in the Protectorate, and the Verordnungsblatt des Reichsprotektors in Böhmen und Mähren (now Verordnungsblatt des deutschen Staatsministers in B.u.M.) is recognized as an official Reich publication. 4/ This situation has occasionally led to some hardship, as Protectorate nationals are presumed to know of the issuance of a law affecting them even if it has not been published in the Protectorate, and may unwittingly infringe regulations the existence of which they do not know. In general, however, Reich laws and regulations affecting the Protectorate are promptly and fully reported in the Verordnungsblatt and the local press.

New legislation comes from three sources:

1. The Reich government. Reich German laws are not valid for the Protectorate without specific mention, unless they are promulgated "for the whole Greater German Reich," in which case the Protectorate is automatically included. 5/

In Reich affairs affecting the Protectorate, executive power resides in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, designated as the "Central Office for Carrying out the Fuhrer's Decree of 16 March 1939, establishing the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia." All Reich officials must obtain the approval

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1/ Articles 11 & 12 of the Protectorate decree; RGBl., 1939, I, 2039, 7 June 1939.

2/ RGBl., 1939, I, 1871, 22 September 1939, citing VBlRProt., 20 June 1939.

3/ For example, when the Reich laws on trade in opium and other drugs were introduced at the end of 1940, the Czechoslovak laws on the subject were declared invalid. RGBl., 1940, I, 23 September 1940, effective 1 January 1941.

4/ RGBl., 1939, I, 704, 3 April 1939.

5/ Art. 11, Protectorate decree; RGBl., 1939, I, 704, 3 April 1939.

of the Ministry of the Interior before issuing any legal or organizational decrees affecting the Protectorate. 1/

Most of the Reich laws affecting the Protectorate are issued jointly by several ministries, usually including the Ministry of the Interior. The only exceptions are certain administrative orders by the Ministries of Justice, Finance, etc., carrying out prior laws already countersigned by the Minister of the Interior.

2. The German Minister of State for Bohemia-Moravia. He has the right to legislate directly, to require the autonomous cabinet to legislate on specific points, or to cancel, suspend, or change the legislation of the autonomous government.

3. The autonomous Czech government. The great bulk of legislation in the Protectorate comes from this source. The cabinet legislates, subject to the approval of the German Minister of State, on the basis of a law passed in December 1938, permitting legislation by decree in periods of emergency without consulting Parliament (which was abolished in 1939). This law was renewed by the Reichsprotektor in 1940. 2/ A reference to it appears at the head of every decree published in the Official Gazette. Many -- probably the majority -- of the cabinet's decrees are modelled on the corresponding Reich legislation. It is not only new legislation that follows this model wherever possible. Every time a law or group of laws comes up for renewal, revision, or codification, it is brought into line with Reich law on the same subject. One of the outstanding examples is the revision of the tax system in the Protectorate, which, by a series of decrees extending over several years and still not complete, has been made to conform with both the principles and the scale of contributions prevailing in Germany. In general, however, there has been comparatively little basic revision of Czechoslovak law. Most of the new legislation is, of necessity, directly connected with war conditions.

Legal measures stemming from all three legislative sources apply to all residents of the Protectorate, whether German citizens or Protectorate nationals, unless specifically limited to one or the other. The executory organs - police and courts, both German and Czech - apply all three sets of laws.

German citizens living in the Protectorate are not automatically subject to any Reich law unless it is specifically extended to them. A whole series of such extensions appeared in the Reichsgesetzblatt shortly after the establishment of the Protectorate in 1939. For Reich citizens whose legal domicile is in other parts of the Reich but who are temporarily resident in the Protectorate, their Heimatrecht (i.e., the law valid at their place of domicile), applies. For German citizens from the Sudetenland, German law as specifically extended to the Sudeten territories applies. 3/

1/ Art. 13, Protectorate decree; RGBl., 1939, I, 549, 22 March 1939.

2/ VBlRProt., 1940, p. 604, 12 December 1940.

3/ RGBl., 1939, I, 20, July 1939.

A few examples of laws affecting Germans in the Protectorate follow:

The entire complex of laws concerning the Reich Labor Service was applied to Reich citizens in the Protectorate in 1939. 1/ German "army law" (Wehrrecht - i.e., conscription, etc.) was introduced in October 1940 and made retroactive to 1 July 1939. 2/ German family-aid laws were made valid for Germans in the Protectorate in October 1939. 3/ German laws concerning the granting of medals, admission to honorary orders, etc., were not applied to Germans in the Protectorate until June 1942. 4/ German law on the qualifications and licensing of notaries, physicians, veterinaries, etc., has been progressively introduced for German citizens in the Protectorate, and Protectorate sections of the corresponding Reich Chambers have been established. 5/ (Czechs have their own national Chambers.)

On the other hand, a decree of October 1939 6/ declared that it was for the time being impossible to introduce the Reich system of "marriage loans" for those Reich citizens who had acquired citizenship through the establishment of the Protectorate. (It is not known whether the system was finally introduced later on.)

B. The Courts

In theory, there exist in the Protectorate two entirely separate, complete, and mutually exclusive judicial systems -- one for German citizens and one for Protectorate nationals. 7/ In practice, however, only one of them, the German, is exclusive. With only minor exceptions, German citizens cannot be tried by Czech courts. Protectorate nationals, on the other hand, are subject to the jurisdiction of German courts for a long list of criminal offenses (largely of political import), which is constantly being extended. In civil litigation, the presence of a single German in the case, whether as plaintiff, defendant, or witness, may be sufficient to bring it to a German court. Furthermore, the Reichsprotektor has general powers to transfer any case from a Czech to a German

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1/ VBlRProt., 1939, p. 37, 1 August 1939; RGBl., 1939, I, p. 2,472, 31 October 1939.

2/ RGBl., 1940, I, 1364.

3/ RGBl., 1939, I, 2,125, 31 October 1939.

4/ RGBl., 1942, I, 417.

5/ RGBl., 1939, I, 2038, 13 October 1939, for notaries; 1940, I, 1,664, 23 December 1940, for veterinaries; 1940, I, 1,665, 24 December 1940, for physicians.

6/ VBlRProt., 1939, p. 287.

7/ Protectorate Decree, Art. 2, sec. 1. Cf, also the detailed study in "Die deutsche Gerichtsbarkeit in Böhmen und Mahren," Deutsches Recht, 1940, pp. 1746, pp. 1746-54 & 2085-92.

court. 1/ In periods of "emergency" (a term which he alone defines) he can delegate almost unlimited power over both Germans and Czechs to special summary courts.

The division between the two judicial systems on the basis of nationality extends to lawyers and notaries. Special permission is required for a lawyer of one nationality to appear before a court of the other nationality. Only the German language may be used in German courts; either Czech or German may be used in Czech courts, but any legal documents transmitted by these courts to German authorities must be either written in German or else accompanied by a certified translation into German.

1. The Czech Courts. The Czech judicial system has been maintained practically unchanged, except for the limitation of jurisdiction described above and the indirect limitations imposed by the transfer of German personnel to the German courts and the lack of new Czech personnel owing to the closing of the Czech universities. The only structural change is the establishment of a "National Tribunal" at Prague, to try political offenses of Czech nationals "against the Czech nation." Its jurisdiction is restricted solely to cases calling for the death penalty; if, in the course of a trial, the judges find that the defendant is not liable to capital punishment they must at once transfer the case to an ordinary court. The Tribunal has seven members, appointed by the Protectorate President on the nomination of the Prime Minister. Its decisions are final, with no appeal permitted. 2/

2. The German Courts.

a. Ordinary Courts. Alongside the Czech court system, a complete network of German courts has been established in the Protectorate, forming an integral part of the Reich's legal system. The two courts of highest instance in Germany, the Reich Supreme Court (Reichsgericht) and the People's Court (Volksgerichtshof), also function in the Protectorate. 3/ The ordinary German courts, which together form the Oberlandesgerichtsbezirk Prag, include an Oberlandesgericht at Praha, two Landgerichte, at Praha and Brno, with a Special Court (Sondergericht) attached to each, and fourteen Amtsgerichte.

1/ If he does so, then the right to collect the costs, even for the part of the case already tried by the Czech court, also passes to German hands. The procedure is defined in RGBl., 1940, I, 603, 4 April 1940.

2/ Czech government decree, 27 June 1942, reported in Neue Tag, 30 June 1942; Gardista, Bratislava, 1 July 1942; Calais radio to Europe in German, 30 June 1942 (FCC).

3/ A panel of the People's Court sits frequently in Praha; for extraordinary cases, the First Senate of the Court may hold a special session there. This occurred in October 1941, for example, when the People's Court, under the chairmanship of Thierack himself, tried the Czech Prime Minister, Eliáš, and the Mayor of Praha, Klapka, for high treason. Národní Politika, 30 October 1941; Lidové Listy, 4 October 1941. For German laws on the People's Court and the Special Courts applicable in the Protectorate, cf. VBlRProt., 1940, pp. 119 ff.

They function in the same manner as do corresponding courts in the Reich, except that in civil cases the German courts use the procedure and fees customary in Czech courts. 1/

b. Special Courts. Beside the ordinary courts, there are several types of special court in the German judicial system in the Protectorate:

i. Military Courts. German military courts in the Protectorate have functions similar to those elsewhere in the Reich. 2/ Up to January 1942 they also had jurisdiction over cases of sabotage, very broadly defined as "any disturbance of public life and economy." 3/ In 1942, however, these cases were transferred to the Special Courts and the People's Court. The military courts can now handle non-German cases only in exceptional circumstances where the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces certifies to the Reichsprotektor that military necessity is involved. 4/

ii. SS and Police Courts. These courts were introduced into the Protectorate in 1942, and function only in special cases of attack on members of the SS or police. The Reichsführer-SS must certify to the Minister of the Interior that the case is to be handled by a designated SS or police court. If the army is also affected by the crime, the Reichsfuhrer-SS and the Supreme Commander of the Army together decide which court is to handle the case. 5/

iii. Summary Courts (Standgerichte). In the two periods when a "state of civil emergency" was declared in parts of the Protectorate, in September-October 1941 and May-June 1942, the Reichsprotektor established Summary Courts with extremely broad powers to deal with political cases during the period of emergency. 6/ In 1941 there were two such Summary Courts, at Praha and Brno; in 1942 there were at least three, the third at Vrbno. These courts could impose only three sentences: death, release, or "hand over to the Gestapo." They functioned with great rapidity. In 1941 the "state of civil emergency" was declared on 27 September, and the first Summary Court sentences were published on the 28th. Large groups of accused were handled in short order. For example, on 30 September, the two Courts pronounced 58 death sentences (they were executed the same day), handed 256 over to the Gestapo,

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1/ RGBl., 1939, I, 1262, 14 July 1939; 1940, I, 980, 11 July 1940. German procedure is stipulated for all criminal trials, including non-German cases, before German courts. VBlRProt., 1939, p. 268, 18 September 1939.

2/ Cf. "German Military and Police Tribunals in Occupied Countries" of this Handbook.

3/ VBlRProt., 1939, p. 83, 26 August 1939.

4/ RGBl., I, 1942, p. 47, January 1942.

5/ RGBl., I, 1942, p. 475, 15 July 1942; VBlRProt., 15 August 1942.

6/ For a detailed description of these courts in the 1941 period, cf. E. V. Erdely, Prague Braves the Hangman (London, 1942), pp. 59-86.

and freed 1; the next day 39 were executed, 228 handed over to the Gestapo, and 4 freed. 1/ The accusations ranged from terroristic activity to "expressing approval of Heydrich's assassination," and included many cases of "economic sabotage" (black market, concealing crops, etc.), which are ordinarily handled by local Czech courts. 2/

The Summary Courts existed only for the period of "civil emergency," although in the summer of 1942 they continued to function for some time after martial law was revoked, their jurisdiction being limited to cases connected with the Heydrich assassination. 3/

1/ Lidové Listy, 2 October 1941; Národní Politika, 3 October 1941.

2/ The Czech Ministry of the Interior has special powers to enforce all measures connected with the war economy. (Venkov, 25 November 1941, citing Sammlung No. 395.)

3/ Neue Tag, 3 July 1942.

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VII. THE CZECH AUTONOMOUS ADMINISTRATION

A. The President

At the head of the autonomous government is the President, who holds office subject to the approval of the Führer. The office has been held continuously by Dr. Emil Hácha, now seventy-one years old, who was elected President of rump Czecho-Slovakia on 30 November 1938, after the resignation of Eduard Beneš, and who, in the early morning of 15 March 1939, signed the last official document of the old Czecho-slovak government, "requesting" Germany to assume the protection of Bohemia-Moravia.

B. The Cabinet

The first Protectorate cabinet was appointed on 27 April 1939. Except for the disappearance of the liquidated ministries, the functions of which went over to the Reich (Foreign Affairs and National Defense), and the appointment of a new Prime Minister, Eliáš, the cabinet was the same as the post-Munich Beran government. During the next two years there were a few individual changes, including the flight of Ladislav Feierabend, now Minister of Finance in the Czechoslovak government-in-exile. No major change occurred until the fall of 1941, when the Prime Minister, Eliáš, was arrested and executed, during the reign of terror instituted by Reinhard Heydrich. A thoroughgoing reorganization was then carried out. On 19 January 1942 a new cabinet was appointed. It still holds office. The eight ministries which emerged from the reshuffling of administrative jurisdictions now correspond to the division of functions in the Reich cabinet. At the same time the Nazi-sponsored principle of individual responsibility has replaced the former collective responsibility of the Ministers.

The present cabinet is constituted as follows:

Prime Minister and Minister of Justice: Dr. Jaroslav Krejčí
Minister of the Interior: Richard Bienert
Minister of Economics and Labor: Dr. Walter Bertsch
Minister of Schools
and
Minister of Public Enlightenment: Col. Emanuel Moravec
Minister of Agriculture and Forestry: Adolf Hruby
Minister of Transport and Technics: Dr. Jindřich Kamenický
Minister of Finance: Dr. Josef Kalfus

The two most important appointments were those of Dr. Bertsch, the first non-Czech to enter the cabinet, who controls the vital Ministry of Economics, and Col. Moravec, who has emerged as one of the few real quislings among the Czechs and who now controls all educational and propaganda activities for the Czech population. Bertsch had previously served in important economic posts under the Reich government, and had been chief of the Economics and Finance Department of the Office of the Reichsprotektor. 1/ Moravec was an officer in

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1/ It is possible that Bertsch still holds this office in the German Ministry of State, although definite confirmation is not available.

the Czechoslovak Army, rather widely known for his brilliant articles on strategy and tactics. He had never previously held any political position. Of the other cabinet members, only Krejčí and Kalfus had served in pre-Munich cabinets, the latter having been an official in the Ministry of Finance since 1920 and Minister of Finance since 1936. Bienert is a former police official who became Provincial President of Bohemia in 1939. Kamenický is a technician with little political background, and Hruby a small-time politician.

German control over the cabinet is assured not only by the presence of a Reich German within it, and by the fact that the appointments of ministers are revocable at will by the Reichsprotektor, but also by the placing of German officials in important posts within the ministries. A number of these officials concurrently hold corresponding posts in the German Ministry of State for Bohemia-Moravia. Control is further tightened by the fact that all legislative and administrative acts of the Czech government are subject to review by German officials.

This tight German control appears to have succeeded in keeping the present cabinet "safe." The Gleichschaltung of Protectorate legislation and administration, which is still far from complete, has progressed far more rapidly under its aegis than during the two years of the Elias cabinet. Eliás not only succeeded in delaying the application of many Nazi measures, in some cases forcing the Reichsprotektor to take responsibility for introducing the more unpopular ones, but was finally executed because he was accused (apparently with good reason) of being the actual executive head of the Czech underground resistance movement. It is likely that the underground, although supported by a number of high officials, no longer has a foothold in the cabinet itself.

C. Local Government

Local government, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, was already highly centralized in Czecho-Slovakia. Few changes have been necessary to hold it under close control. The principal change has been the gradual replacement of elected officials by Nazi-style appointments from above. The Minister of the Interior has also been empowered to dismiss any officials regarded as "politically unreliable" without normal disciplinary proceedings. In some cases such dismissed officials may be deprived of all or part of their legal pensions. 1/ The technical conditions of employment, salary, pensions, etc., for Czech officials have been brought into line with those prevailing in the Reich for comparable posts, and the number of Czech government employes has been drastically reduced by lowering the compulsory retirement age and by other measures, partly to make the size of the service correspond to the reduction in territory, partly to release labor reserves for war work. 2/

1/ Venkov, 2 December 1941; Sammlung, 26 August 1942; Czecho-slovak, London, 6 March 1942.

2/ Lidové Noviny, 27 February 1942; Südost-Echo, Wien, 31 January 1941.

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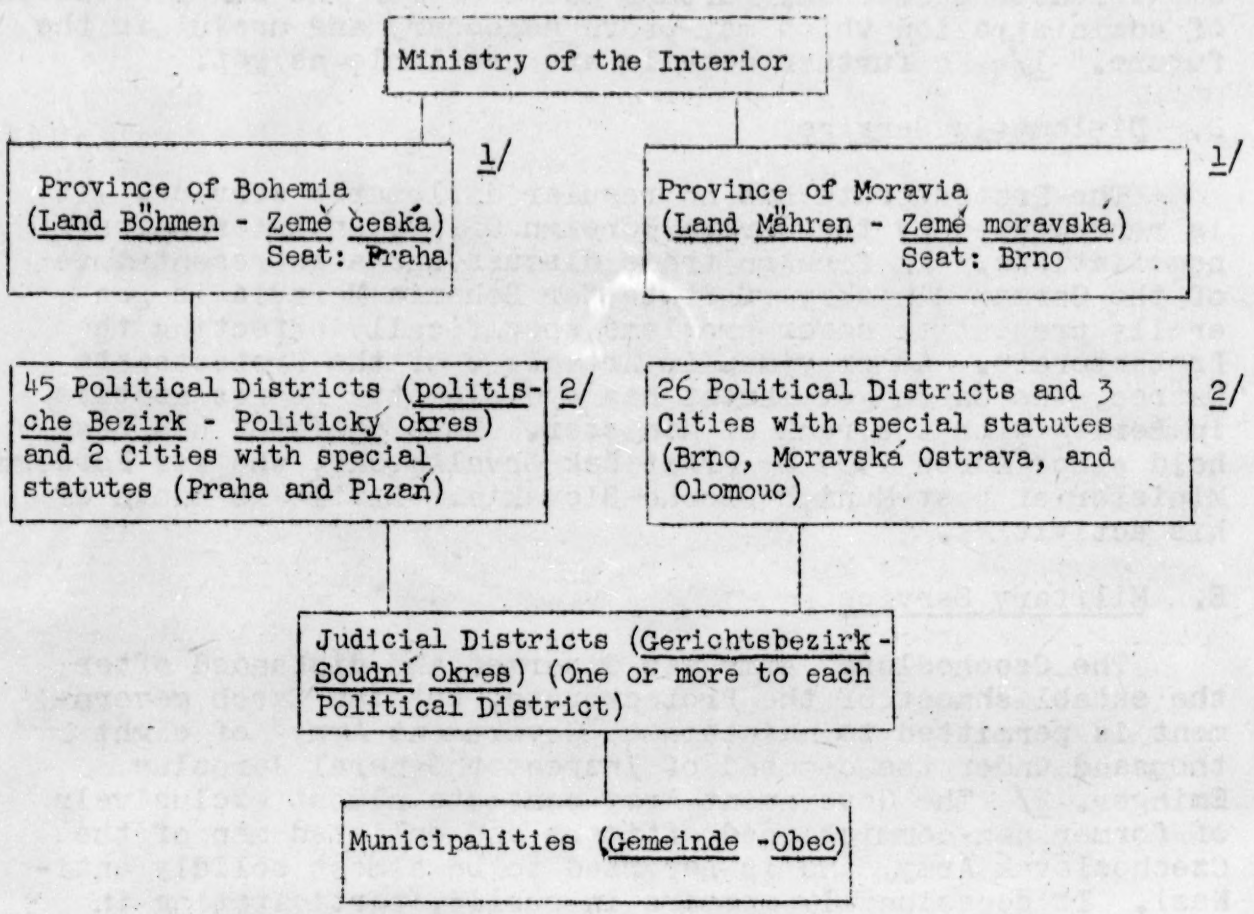
The number of local administrative units in the Protectorate has been reduced through consolidation and reorganizations. War conditions have greatly increased the scope of their work (rationing, compulsory crop deliveries, salvage programs, etc.). The basic pattern, however, remains about as it was under Czechoslovakia. The order of authority in local government is as follows:


Ministry of the Interior
Province of Bohemia (Land Böhmen - Země česká) Seat: Praha
1/
Province of Moravia (Land Mähren - Země moravská) Seat: Brno
1/
45 Political Districts (politische Bezirk - Politicky okres) and 2 Cities with special statutes (Praha and Plzeň)
2/
26 Political Districts and 3 Cities with special statutes (Brno, Moravská Ostrava, and Olomouc)
2/
Judicial Districts (Gerichtsbezirk - Soudní okres) (One or more to each Political District)
Municipalities (Gemeinde - Obec)

1/ Chief official: Landespräsident - Zemský president

2/ Chief official: for Political Districts: Bezirkshauptmann - Okresní Hejtman; for cities; Oberburgermeister - Starosta (for Praha: Primator)

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At the suggestion of Minister of State Frank, the Czech government decreed a further simplification of local administration on 1 January 1944. It has been stated: "The decree simplifies general and internal administration directly by transferring power from higher to lower authorities within the same branch of administration and by transferring tasks of other administrative departments to the ... political authorities (politische Behörden); moreover, members of the Cabinet and the Chief of the Land /Provincial?/ Office are empowered to decree any further measures for the simplification of administration which may prove necessary and useful in the future." 1/ No further details are available as yet.

D. Diplomatic Service

The Protectorate has no regular diplomatic service. It is represented by the German Foreign Office in international negotiations. In foreign trade discussions a representative of the German Ministry of State for Bohemia-Moravia is generally present to cover problems specifically affecting the Protectorate. As provided in Article 6 of the Protectorate Decree, the Czech government has a diplomatic representative in Berlin with the rank of Minister. This position has been held since March 1939 by František Chvalkovsky, who was Foreign Minister of post-Munich Czecho-Slovakia. Little is known of his activities.

E. Military Service

The Czechoslovak Army was disarmed and disbanded after the establishment of the Protectorate, but the Czech government is permitted to maintain a "Government Army" of eight thousand under the command of Inspector General Jaroslav Eminger. 2/ The Government Army consists almost exclusively of former non-commissioned officers and enlisted men of the Czechoslovak Army, and is reported to be almost solidly anti-Nazi. It occasionally appears in public, participating in military parades, etc., but little is known as to its duties.

The Government Army is the only military organization in which Czech nationals may serve. They were exempted from service in the German Army by a reciprocal agreement at the time of the Munich accord, and since the establishment of the Protectorate the Germans have continued to exclude them, although they have pressed soldiers of almost every other nationality in Europe into active service. The fixed policy appears to be to keep Czechs working in the Protectorate war industries, where they can be more easily controlled and relatively more useful to Germany than they would be as soldiers, in view of their "political unreliability" and their long tradition of "silent sabotage" from the days of Czech service in the Austro-Hungarian Army.

1/ Neue Tag, 28 December 1943, as quoted in News Digest No. 1337.

2/ Protectorate Decree, Art. 7. There are 280 officers and 7620 enlisted men, Czech nationals eighteen to twenty-four years old, with a five-year term of service. Praha press, 19 May 1939; Nation und Staat, Wien, October 1939, p. 37; Central European Observer, London, 1 February 1940; Neue Tag, 6 March 1943 (appeal for new recruits).

Scattered and persistent reports, particularly in Soviet broadcasts, 1/ maintain that Czechs are serving in the German Army, but closer examination generally reveals that the men in question either come from mixed families and have been more or less forcibly registered as German citizens, or else hail from Czech families domiciled outside the Protectorate (mostly in Wien or the Sudetenland). 2/ A number of Czechs are serving in the German auxiliary military labor forces, especially the Todt Organization, and a few of these may have been shifted into the army itself. There is one case where German authorities set a quota for Czech workers to be sent to the Todt Organization, with the expressed purpose of "redressing the population balance" in the Jihlava district (one of the old German enclaves in the Protectorate), where the proportion of German residents had fallen because of calls for military and labor service in the Reich. 3/ There is, however, absolutely no evidence of any large-scale induction of Czech nationals into the German Army.

F. Education

Since under the Czechoslovak Republic the educational system was highly centralized, 4/ there was little technical difficulty in bringing it under Nazi control. There was nevertheless strong Czech resistance to the Gleichschaltung of education in the Protectorate. Except for the closing of the universities in November 1939, little progress was made in this direction until Col. Emanuel Moravec took over the Ministry of Schools in January 1942. A Czech newspaper commented that until then the Ministry had been "the strongest bastion of Benešism" and that Moravec had been assigned "to clean up our school system." 5/

1. The Universities. The most serious blow suffered by the Czech educational system was the brutal closing of the Czech universities and normal schools in November 1939, under the personal direction of Karl Hermann Frank, who is now the German Minister of State for Bohemia-Moravia. The universities were officially closed for three years, but on 18 November 1942 Frank announced that they would not be reopened. The Czech population was thus deprived for an indefinite period of its normal supply of new teachers and trained intellectuals. A considerable number of university students

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1/ For example, Tass broadcast, 1 March 1943, claiming that Germany was planning to create twenty divisions of Czech soldiers; Moscow in Czech to Czechoslovakia, 27 March 1943 (both BBC); also Intercept PAL/01046/43, 25 April 1943.

2/ Cf., e.g., report on interrogation of German prisoners of Czech nationality, CID L 18982.

3/ Kölnische Zeitung, 18 January 1943.

4/ For detailed description, cf. Severin L. Turosienski, Education in Czechoslovakia, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Office of Education, Bulletin 1935, No. 11, Washington, D. C., 1936.

5/ Venkov, Praha, 31 January 1942.

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were arrested or killed; many are still in concentration camps. The rest have been forced into factory labor or otherwise cut off from intellectual pursuits. Young Czechs graduating from high school are no longer able to enter higher educational institutions, and are obliged to go to work, except for a small number permitted to study selected subjects, largely technical, in German universities. 1/

The German University in Praha, which was a parallel institution with the Czech Charles University there, and the German Institutes of Technology (Technische Hochschulen) in Praha and Brno have remained open and greatly expanded their activities, particularly in special courses for German soldiers, both convalescent wounded and able-bodied men on "study leave." These institutions are administered directly by the Reich Ministry of Education. The number of German normal schools has been doubled. 2/ There has nevertheless been such a shortage of teachers for German schools that in 1942 the Germans were reduced to employing Czechs to teach the German language in German schools. 3/

2. Lower Schools. Both Czech and German schools in the Protectorate are supervised directly by the Czech Ministry of Schools through a network of local School Offices (Schulämter), which form an integral part of the Provincial and District administrations. These Offices replace the former democratically-controlled local and provincial School Councils, which were dissolved in 1942-43. 4/

German schools in the Protectorate have been completely integrated into the Nazi educational system, and their diplomas are officially recognized as equivalent to those granted by corresponding schools in the Reich. 5/

The process of integration in the Czech schools has been slower. Sweeping proposals for reforming the whole system were made, but their execution has been delayed by Czech resistance (led in no small measure by the teachers and students themselves), by difficulties due to the war (shortage of paper for new textbooks, etc.), and by the teacher shortage. By the end of 1943, however, the major part of the reform, at least in its technical aspects, seems to have been completed.

1/ It is reported that 3,500 students applied for this "privilege," but that only part were accepted. Applicants were limited to "pure Aryans" who had graduated from Czech secondary schools, with high marks, in 1940 or 1941 (i.e., excluding all those already of university age when the universities were closed). Narodni Prace, Praha, 21 November 1942; Lidove Noviny, Brno, 1 March 1942.

2/ Neue Tag, 18 December 1942. At the end of 1942 there were 1,100 students in eight German normal schools.

3/ Donauzeitung, Beograd, 15 April 1942.

4/ Neue Tag, 7 November 1942 and 17 April 1943.

5/ Die Zeit, Liberec, 9 March 1943.

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The general aim, as stated on many occasions by Col. Moravec, has been to remove the last vestiges of the "liberal-democratic ideal of universal education," and instead make the Czech system conform to the Nazi ideal of "selective education," i.e., education for gifted pupils only. 1/ Col. Moravec has decreed that the maximum annual average of secondary school graduates in the Protectorate should be only five thousand, whereas eleven thousand graduated in 1941. 2/

Statistics show that the total number of Czech schools has not been appreciably reduced, despite persistent exile propaganda to the contrary. However, the entire administrative organization of the schools has been revamped to correspond to the German system. 3/ The teaching of German language and literature has been greatly expanded at the expense of other subjects such as religious instruction, the Czech language, history, and physical training. 4/ There is steadily increasing emphasis on vocational training as opposed to "pure intellectualism." The number of pupils in ordinary schools has been reduced, but the number in various types of trade schools has greatly increased. Several new trade schools have been opened for Czech pupils. 5/ The shortage of teachers has led to the creation of a new category of "school helpers" -- young students with only a secondary school diploma, or even, in exceptional cases, only grammar school education; they begin teaching in elementary schools after a three-month training course, becoming full-fledged teachers two years later. 6/ The same system is being applied in Germany.

G. Propaganda and Political Organizations

1. The NS. 7/ In the brief period of the post-Munich Czecho-Slovak Republic, the Czechs drastically simplified their political life, abolishing all the former numerous political parties and establishing two "union" parties: "National Unity" (Narodní Jednota) and "National Labor" (Národní Prace). Actually only the former had any real power. There were serious moves toward abolishing the Labor Party even before the Germans

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1/ Neue Tag, 19 January, 19 March 1943; Národní Práce, 8 August 1942, 22 January 1943.

2/ CID 17791 C, citing Venkov, 15 February 1942; Neue Tag, 24 July 1942; Bern wire, 29 July 1942.

3/ Lidove Noviny, 10 March 1942; Neue Tag, 19 January 1943.

4/ Lidove Noviny, 24 February 1942; CID 17791 C.

5/ Lidove Listy, 28 September 1941; Národní Prace, 22 January 1943.

6/ Neue Tag, 4 August 1943.

7/ Národni Souručenství (National Community), habitually referred to as NS. The material in this chapter is taken from various issues of the Praha press for March-May 1939 as reported in the daily summaries issued by the Czech government, except where otherwise indicated.

occupied Bohemia-Moravia. After the occupation, both parties dissolved themselves "voluntarily," on 30 March and 1 April 1939, and the Czechs were called upon to form a single unified national party. The Germans apparently expected that the NS would be a Czech edition of the NSDAP, and for three years they and a few Czech quislings tried vainly to make it so. The new party became instead an instrument for the manifestation of Czech national feeling. As such it became more and more inconvenient for the Germans and was gradually pushed into the background. It still exists today, but has been shorn of all its political functions and limited to a very minor participation in the "re-education" of the Czech people in "Reich thinking."

The NS was first announced one week after the occupation, when President Hácha appointed a provisional executive committee (Výbor) of fifty members, and called upon the Czech people to express their solidarity by joining the party. Membership was restricted to Czech males over twenty-one. Women were to have their own organization, attached to the cultural society, National Council (Národní Rada), but were henceforth excluded from political activity, being assigned "the greater task of protecting the Czech soul." On 23 April 1939, 2,130,000 Czechs inscribed themselves on the NS register - almost 100 percent of those eligible. On 28 April the legal position of the party was settled by government decree. The President of the Protectorate, Hácha, was declared leader of the party, which was to be the only institution permitted to organize Czech nationals politically.

The NS rapidly set up a tremendous organization, with local units in every township. At the head was the Executive Committee, with seventy members, directed by Count Jan Fousek. It was organized into subcommittees dealing with every phase of Czech life. These subcommittees made detailed studies on the basis of which they recommended action to the central government on all types of questions, ranging from technical points such as new methods of milk inspection to grandiose schemes for indoctrinating the Czech people with National Socialist ideology.

For some time the NS was very much in evidence. It was officially represented at every public meeting. Every Czech newspaper was designated "official organ of the NS." NS officials participated ostentatiously in Red Cross drives, the winter clothing collection for the Eastern front in January 1942, etc. But gradually the NS began to fade out of the public view, and its name disappeared from newspaper mastheads. In the fall of 1942 a drastic reorganization was announced. Count Fousek was dismissed and Dr. Tomáš Krejčí was installed as "commissarial administrator." A meeting of NS regional leaders was called to discuss "new directives." 1/ In January 1943 it was announced that the NS had now officially recognized what had long been actual fact: that it was no longer a political organization, but simply a body (Korperschaft) with cultural and educational aims, the sole function of which was "to lead the people according to the policy of the State President and his government into Reich-consciousness and toward a new order in the sense of the national community

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1/ Národní Práce, 11 October, 6 November 1942.

and social justice." 1/ Since that time little has been heard of the NS except for minor cultural manifestations such as local celebrations of literary anniversaries. Its present trend may be gauged from the fact that in December 1942 the Nazi right-arm salute -- the "Aryan greeting" -- was designated as the official NS salute. 2/

2. Czech Fascist Parties. Although the NS was the only political organization officially permitted for the Czechs, a number of small native fascist groups managed to maintain semi-official status, with German encouragement. In the first few days of the occupation, several of these groups banded together to form a "National Committee," headed by General Rudolf Gajda, making an unsuccessful bid for political power. The Germans flirted with the Committee for a short time but soon realized that it was politically impotent. Gajda himself then advised his followers to join the NS, although a small group of dissidents broke away from him and created a flurry of ineffectual rioting and newspaper polemics during the formation of the NS.

A small Czech fascist group, the Vlajka (Flag), continued to exist until 28 May 1943, when it was dissolved and its remaining assets were handed over to the German Red Cross. 3/ Its dissolution gave tacit recognition to the abysmal failure of the more violent forms of fascist propaganda among the Czechs.

3. The Ministry of Public Enlightenment

a. Propaganda. The decline of the NS and the Czech fascists was paralleled by the rise of Col. Emanuel Moravec and the mushrooming of propaganda agencies under his aegis. Moravec became Minister of Schools and head of the newly-created Office of Public Enlightenment on 19 January 1942, in connection with the drastic reorganization of the Czech administration already described. A few months later the Office was raised to the status of a Ministry, with Moravec as Minister. 4/ Its sphere was defined as including every phase of cultural and political activity among the Czechs in the Protectorate: propaganda, press, radio, theater, music, literature, and art. Moravec, as head of both ministries, became sole arbiter (of course, under the ultimate control of the German administration) of what could be said and taught to the Czech population, thus centralizing in one hand functions previously distributed among a number of different agencies. For the first time, propaganda became an official function of the Czech government; previously it had been channelled through semi-governmental agencies such as the NS.

The propaganda line used toward the Czechs has varied very little since 1939. The Czechs are described as a separate racial group entitled to their own national development in

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1/ Neue Tag, 15 January 1943.

2/ Lidové Noviny, 25 December 1942.

3/ Neue Tag, 3 June 1943; Bern wire, 18 June 1943.

4/ Lidové Noviny, 3 June 1942.

cultural matters, 1/ but belonging inescapably to the sphere of the German Reich in all other departments. The creation of the Protectorate is described as a voluntary recognition of this fact on the part of the Czechs. Since the outbreak of the war, a further propaganda line has informed the Czechs that the German Reich and its army are protecting them as well as Germany, and urged the Czechs to show their gratitude for having been spared the horrors of war on their own territory by working for the German war machine, contributing to the German Red Cross, and so forth.

Both German and Czech propagandists follow this same line in speaking to the Czechs. The Germans, however, occasionally inject another element, which is almost never explicitly present in Czech propaganda: the threat of violent reprisals if the Czech people do not voluntarily accept Nazi plans. This alternation between persuasion and threat has characterized German propaganda to the Czechs from the very beginning. The Germans have accepted full responsibility for every occasion when the iron hand has been applied in the Protectorate. When Czechs are executed for political crimes, the sentence is passed by a German court. When "civil martial law" is declared, it is done by the German authorities. The Czech government is thus enabled to maintain an unimpeachable moral position in relation to both parts of the Czech population. The few genuine collaborationists can believe that the government is voluntarily collaborating with the Germans. The anti-Nazi Czech nationalists, on the other hand, can see it as collaborating only under threat of force. The German position is clear evidence that the Nazis still realistically understand that the Czech population as a whole is unreconciled to its present situation.

Czech propaganda in the Protectorate operates through two principal agencies: the Institute for Public Enlightenment, and the Kuratorium for the Education of Czech Youth.

b. The Institute for Public Enlightenment. The Institute was officially launched by Col. Moravec on 28 May 1943, the anniversary of Heydrich's assassination. 2/ It was established by a Czech government decree of 11 May, which abolished the "obsolete apparatus" of adult education committees 3/ and entrusted the Institute with the control of all Czech public meetings, exhibitions, etc., of a cultural, political, or educational nature. 4/ The new organization thus took over most of the functions previously exercised by the NS. It has set up a network of district and local officials,

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1/ There has been practically no attempt to consider the Czechs as an "inferior race"; in general, they seem to rank fairly high in the Nazi racial hierarchy, and German propaganda has tended to soft-pedal the racial angle in the Protectorate.

2/ German domestic broadcast, 28 May 1943, FCC.

3/ For an account of the administration of adult education in Czechoslovakia, cf. Turosienski, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

4/ Neue Tag, 21 May 1943.

under the chairmanship of Col. Moravec, with a "Chief Delegate" as executive head. The Chief Delegate is Hugo Tuskány, editor of an anti-Semitic monthly, Arijská korespondence (Aryan Correspondence). Training classes for the Institute's local functionaries were held in October 1943. Col. Moravec and SS-Sturmbannfuhrer Wolf, head of the Cultural-Political Department of the German Ministry of State for Bohemia-Moravia, gave the principal addresses. 1/ The Institute maintains a permanent staff of lecturers and is reported to have three hundred permanent officials in addition to the network of part-time local representatives. 2/ It is officially represented at all important public meetings.

c. The Kuratorium. The political education of the younger Czechs, outside the school system, is controlled by the Kuratorium for the Education of Czech Youth, 3/ in the foundation of which Reinhard Heydrich is reported to have taken a special interest. 4/ The Kuratorium is presided over by Moravec; its executive head, with the title of General-referent, is Frantisek Teuner. Teuner's staff - there are over two hundred in the Praha office alone - directs the activities of a far-flung organization responsible for the compulsory extra-school education of all Czech young people 10-18 years old. The staff is divided into four Departments: 1) Organizational Work; 2) Physical Training; 3) Spiritual Training; 4) Social Problems. Its 1943 budget was 360 million Czech crowns, a large part of which came from the confiscated funds of the Czech Sokol, which was dissolved in 1941. Since 1 October 1942 the Kuratorium has published a special periodical, Unser Weg (Nás Smer), with a circulation of ninety thousand.

The Kuratorium itself acts merely as an executive body. It provides directives which are carried out through some two thousand "approved" organizations: sport clubs, cultural societies, and various other types of youth groups. Approval can be withdrawn at any time if the organization does not follow the Kuratorium's directives. Withdrawal amounts to dissolution, since no Czech child may join an organization without the approval of the Kuratorium. Every child covered by the program must belong to one of these approved organizations and must give several hours a week to the Compulsory Youth Service. The program, carried out by uniformed instructors especially trained in Kuratorium camps, includes

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1/ Protectorate domestic broadcast, 30 October 1943 (BBC).

2/ Pester Lloyd, Budapest, 29 May 1943.

3/ This chapter is based on items from the following sources: Narodni Prace, 1, 4 October, 24 November, 21, 22 December 1942; 24 January, 6 February, 15 March, 2, 20 June 1943; Kölnische Zeitung, 17 March 1943; Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 22 October 1943; Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 7 November 1943; speech by Moravec, Praha domestic broadcast, 1 June 1943 (BBC); press conference by Teuner, Praha domestic broadcast, 18 June 1943 (BBC); Neue Tag, 1 September 1942; Pressintell, 4 December 1943; Bern wire, 29 July 1942.

4/ Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 16 October 1943.

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physical training, lectures, visits to the theater, and other cultural activities. For the older children, it also involves community service such as helping with the harvest, unloading potatoes in danger of spoilage, 1/ making Christmas dolls for children of Czech workers in the Reich, etc. Kuratorium leaders have taken great pains to explain the program in detail to anxious parents. Their speeches make it very evident that there were widespread fears among the Czechs that the children would be taken out of school and sent to factory work away from their homes. In general, the program is modelled on that of the Hitler Youth, and Hácha, Moravec, Teuner, and other speakers have said that the highest ideal of Czech youth should be to emulate the heroic achievements of German boys and girls, to prepare themselves properly for life in the New Europe, and thus to "expiate the sins of their fathers."

Although the Kuratorium's ambitious plans were first announced in the summer of 1942, and the compulsory registration of every Czech of ages ten to eighteen was carried out by the Czech police on 1 February 1943, the organization is not yet in full operation because of the extensive preparations involved. About one hundred and fifty thousand children are fully organized in the program, and another three to four hundred thousand are partially covered. 2/ The total number of children within the prescribed age limits is estimated at about one million. Six thousand instructors have volunteered for service with the Kuratorium; by the middle of June 1943 two thousand of them had been trained in special two-week courses. Most of the preliminary work appears to have been completed, and the program will probably be in full swing by the summer of 1944.

Before the establishment of the Kuratorium, Czech youth received its political education through various organizations, chiefly the youth section of the NS, which registered four hundred thousand members in May 1939. This has presumably been dissolved since the opening of the new program. Of the other youth organizations, the patriotic gymnastic societies Sokol and Orel have been dissolved; most of the rest have been integrated into the Kuratorium program.

4. The Czech Workers' Organization: the NOUZ. Workers in Czechoslovakia possessed one of the most highly-organized and active trade-union movements in the world. Before 1939, more than half the employed population in Bohemia-Moravia belonged to trade unions. There was, however, no single national trade-union association; the numerous small unions were organized into fourteen national associations, each connected with a particularly political party or other group (Social Democrats, Catholics, etc.). After Munich, negotiations were begun to form a unified national association, which was founded in March 1939 as the NOUZ (National Association of

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1/ Ninety-three hundred children unloaded 101 trains of potatoes in five large cities in November 1943.

2/ In December 1943 Teuner reported that thirty thousand boys and eighty-five thousand girls had been organized thus far. (Neue Tag, 17 December 1943.)

Employed Persons). 1/ Due to the resistance of the workers, who resigned from their unions in large numbers, no true unification resulted from this move. It was not until the fall of 1942 that the remaining twenty-eight trade unions were dissolved, their assets transferred to the NOÚZ, and the NOÚZ itself reorganized on the "leadership principle," with Václav Stoces as its head. 2/ Czech newspapers reported at the time that Czech workers had at last recognized the utility (Zweckmässigkeit) of the trade unions, and that "many have returned to their ranks." 3/ However, the political temper of the workers is such, and their importance to German war production is so great, that no attempt has yet been made to make NOÚZ membership compulsory. Workers are still "invited" to join, and much propaganda effort is expended on proving to them that the NOÚZ is "a truly creative organization," 4/ instead of trying to force them into it willy-nilly.

The NOÚZ now closely parallels the German Labor Front in organization and methods, with the single exception of not having compulsory membership. Like the DAF, it has no control over wages or labor contracts, which are prescribed by the Labor Offices and the Ministry of Economics and Labor. It has also yielded to the Labor Offices the payment of social insurance benefits, which were formerly distributed through the Czech trade unions. Its chief activities are cultural and educational. It cooperates with the DAF in organizing vocational training courses and workers' hostels. Since the beginning of 1943 it has also been responsible for the welfare of Czech workers in Germany, and it maintains liaison offices in DAF headquarters in the Reich.

German supervision over the activities of the NOÚZ is exercised by the Liaison Office to the Czech Trade Unions in the German Ministry of State, headed by Rudolf Kasper. 5/

1/ Praha press, 19 March 1939.

2/ Venkov, 28 December 1942.

3/ Národní Práce, 15 November 1942.

4/ Czech newspaper cited textually by Czechoslovak Press Bureau, Czech edition, New York, 3 June 1943; exact source not indicated.

5/ He succeeded Ing. Wilhelm Köster on 1 December 1943. (Neue Tag, 2 December 1943.)

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VIII. ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE PROTECTORATE

With some modifications due to the dual form of government and to differences in the business structure, the German system of economic controls has been introduced into the Protectorate. Integration of the Protectorate into the German war economy was accomplished by gradual stages, greatly accelerated after 1941. German spokesmen claim that it was practically completed by the end of 1943 and that no further increase in production could be expected through purely organizational measures, although there was still room for some improvement through rationalization. 1/ It has been reliably estimated 2/ that the territories formerly conprising Czecho-Slovakia provide about 10 percent of over-all German war production, with the percentage much higher for certain specialties such as armor plating for tanks. The Protectorate accounts for the lion's share of this contribution.

In general, the Protectorate has been treated as an entirely separate economic unit. In the few cases where Czech industries have been made an integral part of German cartels (parts of the glass and ceramic industries) or brought under the direct control of Reich officials (the iron industry), separate offices have been established in Praha for the Protectorate sections. Even industries completely owned by Reich German interests have remained subject to Protectorate laws and regulations, which, while in general following the German pattern, sometimes differ considerably from their German counterparts. Since the Protectorate is also a separate Corps Area (Wehrkreis), the Reich armaments controls are also handled separately for this territory.

As in Germany, economic controls in the Protectorate are confusingly numerous and interlocking. They fall into four main groups: 1) armaments controls, both military and civilian; 2) German governmental controls; 3) Czech governmental controls; 4) non-governmental compulsory organizations, the so-called "industrial self-government," and, to a limited extent, a few voluntary associations such as the six Protectorate Chambers of Commerce.

The first two groups, numerically small but extremely important because they make all major policy decisions, were imposed from above. The other two were established partly by the autonomous government, under more or less pressure from the German administration, partly by industrialists themselves (both Czech and German); they follow the German pattern in practically every detail. As in Germany, there are numerous interlocking connections, both through personal union and through the delegation of certain governmental powers to the industrial associations.

A. Armaments Controls

These exactly follow the German pattern. There are three principal officials: Generalmajor Dipl.-Ing. Hernekamp, Armament Inspector (Chef der Rüstungsinspektion Böhmen und Mähren); Oberbaurat Dipl.-Ing. Othmar Kallina, Corps Area Deputy (Wehrkreisbeauftragter) of the (Speer) Ministry of Armaments and Munitions; and Bernhard Adolf, Rüstungsobmann, and President of the Zentralverband der Industrie coordinator of the activities of

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1/ Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, 2 November 1943.

2/ Bulletin of the Oxford Institute of Statistics, 28 August 1943.

industrial self-government associations in respect to armaments production. These are united in the Armament Commission (Rüstungskommission), whose members are Hernekamp (chairman), Adolf (vice-chairman), Kallina, Bertsch (Minister of Economics and Labor in the Czech cabinet), and Rittershausen (Chief of the Central Office for Public Contracts in the Protectorate). 1/

B. Other German Governmental Controls

1. The German Ministry of State. General supervision over all aspects of the Czech economy is exercised by the German Ministry of State for Bohemia-Moravia, as can be clearly seen from the organizational chart given above. Many of the officials in charge of this supervision also hold important policy-determining posts in the Czech government.

The Ministry of State also handles affairs directly administered by the Reich (reichseigener Verwaltung), as provided by Article 11 of the Protectorate Decree. In this category are the monopolies formerly administered by the Czechoslovak government (tobacco, spirits, etc.), now under the Reich Monopoly Administration (Reichsmonopolverwaltung), certain excise taxes (on beer, tobacco, playing cards, sugar, etc.), and customs duties. The collection of these taxes and duties is entrusted to Czech officials "for the account of the Reich" (im Auftrag des Reichs), except at the frontiers, where they are collected by German officials of the Reich Finance Administration. For this purpose the Protectorate is designated as the Oberfinanzbezirk Böhmen und Mähren, under Oberfinanzpräsident Gross, with headquarters in Praha. 2/ All other taxes are collected by the Czech Ministry of Finance.

Article 9 of the Protectorate Decree provided for a customs union of the Protectorate and the Reich, which finally became effective on 1 October 1940. The Protectorate still maintains a customs union with Slovakia, periodically extended by international treaty between Slovakia and the Reich -- a striking tribute to the economic unity of the two territories.

Currency in the Protectorate is under the close supervision of the German Ministry of State and the Reichsbank. As provided in Article 9 of the Protectorate Decree, both Czech crowns (Koruny--Kronen) and Reichsmarks circulate side by side, at a relation of ten to one. The relation was legally fixed in March 1939, 3/ and has remained unchanged for all internal trade. There has been some juggling of parities in international trade, and a special fund had to be set up by the Czech National Bank to reimburse Protectorate importers and exporters who lost money thereby. 4/

2. The Special Delegates. Responsible directly to the Minister of State, but standing apart from the Ministry in an autonomous position, are a series of special offices controlling certain important branches of the Czech economy. Most

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1/ Südost-Echo, 4 December 1942.

2/ VBlRProt., 1939, p. 146, 15 September 1939; RGBl., I, 1940, 16 September 1940 (effective 1 October 1940); pp. 1240, 1247, 17 September 1940.

3/ RGBl., 1939, I, 555, 21 March 1939.

4/ Europa Kabel, 23 October 1942; Neue Tag, 6 April 1943. In general, the fund covers only transactions occurring before 30 September 1940, before the customs union went into effect.

of these offices have counterparts in the Reich. The dates when they were established are indicated in the footnotes. They include the following:

a. The Coal Office (Kohlenwirtschaftsstelle). This corresponds to the German Reichsstelle "Coal," controlling the production, distribution, and consumption of coal and wood used as fuel. Its costs are covered by a special tax of ten hellers per ton of fuel handled by each producer, distributor, and importer in the Protectorate. Many of its operations are delegated to the industrial self-government organizations of the coal industry. 1/

b. The Petroleum Delegate (Beauftragter für die Mineralölwirtschaft (Gerhard Eger). This Delegate controls the production and distribution of oil and oil products and specialized transport vehicles (tankers, etc.). Oil and gasoline rationing come under this office. 2/

c. The Delegate for Machinery Production (Bevollmächtigter für die Maschinenproduktion) (Kathke). The Delegate controls types and quantities of tools and machinery produced in the Protectorate. His orders are generally carried out through the industrial self-government groups. 3/

d. The Delegate for Motor Vehicles (Bevollmächtigter für das Kraftfahrwesen). 4/ This position is filled by Ringhoffer.

e. The Transportation Delegate (Verkehrsbeauftragter für die Wirtschaft in Böhmen und Mähren). Franz Husty occupies the position while the permanent deputy is Franz Wildt. 5/

f. The Regional Delegate of the Central Office for Generators (Länderbeauftragter der Zentralstelle für Generatoren). This official recently took over the tasks formerly handled by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and other Czech organs in connection with installing gas generators to replace gasoline engines. 6/

g. The Bohemian-Moravian Import and Export Office for Agricultural Products (Böhmisch-Mährische Ein- und Ausfuhrstelle für Erzeugnisse der Ernährungs- und Landwirtschaft). This is the representative in the Protectorate of the various agricultural Reichsstellen. 7/

1/ VBlRProt., 1939, p. 109, 5 September 1939; 1940, p. 85, 16 February 1940.

2/ Ibid. 1939, p. 109, 9 September 1939.

3/ Ibid., 1940, p. 149, 3 April 1940; Neue Tag, 26 January 1945.

4/ Neue Tag, 4 August 1943, citing VBlRProt., 1941, p. 155, 19 April 1941.

5/ Appointed in 1939. (Neue Tag, 5 September 1943).

6/ Neue Tag, 28 July 1943; Sammlung No. 188, p. 1821, 16 November 1942.

7/ RGBl., 1940, I, 1265, 23 September 1940; VBlRProt., 1940, p. 163, 12 April 1940; Neue Tag, 13 July 1943.
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representative of all the Reichsstellen except those for coal and oil, which have separate offices for the Protectorate (see above).

2. The Supreme Price Control Office. 1/ This is an autonomous agency directly under the Czech Prime Minister. It controls all prices in the Protectorate except wages and salaries, which are fixed by the Ministry of Economics and Labor. It is headed by a Reich German, von Busse, who is also head of the Price Section in the German Ministry of State.

D. Non-Governmental Agencies

By a gradual process, completed about the end of 1942, the German system of compulsory industrial self-government organizations has been introduced into the Protectorate. 2/ Due to the different business structure and smaller territory, the number of these organizations and of their subdivisions is somewhat less than in Germany. The Zentralverband der Industrie, for example, has twenty Wirtschaftsgruppen, whereas the corresponding organization in the Reich, the Reichsgruppe Industrie, has thirty-one. A German delegate from the Ministry of State sits on the executive committee of each Verband; the rest of the personnel is appointed by the appropriate members of the Czech cabinet. Otherwise, the German and Protectorate organizations are practically identical in aim and function.

E. Interlocking Controls

As also in the Reich, economic controls in the Protectorate interlock in numerous ways and there are very few economic functions for which a single agency can be held responsible. The complications existing in the Reich are further aggravated in the Protectorate by the dual German-Czech government. Three examples are given below to indicate the bureaucratic difficulties with which businessmen in the Protectorate must cope.

1. Requests for the allocation of charcoal and carbide are normally made to the Supervisory Office in the Ministry of Economics and Labor; however, if the materials are to be used for generators, they must be requested through the Regional Delegate of the Central Office for Generators. 3/

2. Transport Pools (Transportgemeinschaften). These have been set up in several cities of the Protectorate. They were established by a decree of the Czech government, following the German pattern, through machinery provided by the Zentralverband der Industrie. Their operation is subject not only to the provisions of the Czech government decree but also to the general supervision of the German Ministry of State and the Czech Ministry of Transport and Technics, and to detailed

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1/ Sammlung 1939, p. 385, 10 May 1939.

2/ Deutsche Volkswirt, 16 May 1942. The already existing associations of manufacturers, employers, etc., were either liquidated or merged with the new organizations.

3/ Neue Tag, 4 February 1943.

regulations issued by several of the Special Delegates in their appropriate fields (fuel, coordination with other means of transport, etc.), and by the Supervisory Office in its capacity as representative of the Reichsstellen for certain raw materials such as rubber. The multiplicity of agencies concerned in this single instance is indicated by the report of a recent meeting of executives of the Transport Pools. 1/ Among those giving instructions to the delegates were: Dr. Franz Husty, General Manager of the Zentralverband der Industrie and at the same time Transportation Delegate for Bohemia-Moravia (i.e., representing both industrial self-government and German governmental agencies); a representative of the Highway Transport section of the German Ministry of State for Bohemia-Moravia (representing German supervision of Czech governmental controls); and the chairman of the Transport Department of the Zentralverband der Industrie (representing industrial self-government).

3. A farmer wishing to keep rabbits must apply for a permit to keep them from the local office of the Verband der Land- und Forstwirtschaft (the compulsory self-government Association for Farming and Forestry), to which he must belong. The local office, if it approves the request, passes it on to the local District government, which issues the permit under general directives from the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. The exploitation of the rabbits, however, once the farmer has begun to keep them and wishes to use or sell them for fur or food, is under the Bohemian-Moravian Union for Poultry, Eggs and Honey, one of the functional subdivisions of the Association for Farming and Forestry, which carries out Czech and German governmental decrees and regulations on rationing, distribution, and consumption of rabbits. 2/

1/ Neue Tag, 7 November 1943.

2/ Ibid., 9 November 1943.

APPENDIX I GERMAN TEXT OF THE PROTECTORATE DECREE.

Erlass des Führers und Reichskanzlers

über das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähran

Vom 16. März 1939

Artikel I

(1) Die von den deutschen Truppen im März 1939 besetzten Landesteile der ehemaligen Tschecho-Slowakischen Republik gehören von jetzt ab zum Gebiet des Grossdeutschen Reiches und treten als "Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren" unter dessen Schutz.

(2) Soweit die Verteidigung des Reiches es erfordert, trifft der Führer und Reichskanzler für einzelne Teile dieser Gebeite eine hiervon abweichende Regelung.

Artikel 2

(1) Die volksdeutschen Bewohner des Protektorates werden deutsche Staatsangehörige und nach den Vorschriften des Reichsburgergesetzes vom 15. September 1935 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S.1146) Reichsbürger. Für sie gelten daher auch die Bestimmungen zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre. Sie unterstehen deutscher Gerichtsbarkeit.

(2) Die übrigen Bewohner von Böhmen und Mähren werden Staatsangehörige des Protektorates Bohmen und Mahren.

Artikel 3

(1) Das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren ist autonom und verwaltet sich selbst.

(2) Es übt seine ihm im Rahmen des Protektorates zustehenden Hoheitsrechte im Einklang mit den politischen, militärischen und wirtschaftlichen Belangen des Reiches aus.

(3) Diese Hoheitsrechte werden durch eigene Organe und eigene Behörden mit eigenen Beamten wahrgenommen.

Artikel 4

Das Oberhaupt der autonomen Verwaltung des Protektorates Böhmen und Mähren geniesst den Schutz und die Ehrenrechte eines Staatsoberhauptes. Das Oberhaupt des Protektorates bedarf für die Ausübung seines Amtes des Vertrauens des Führers und Reichskanzlers.

Artikel 5

(1) Als Wahrer der Reichsinteressen ernennt der Führer und Reichskanzler einen "Reichsprotektor in Bohmen und Mähren." Sein Amtssitz ist Prag.

(2) Der Reichsprotektor hat als Vertreter des Führers und Reichskanzlers und als Beauftragter der Reichsregierung die Aufgabe, für die Beachtung der politischen Richtlinien des Führers und Reichskanzlers zu sorgen.

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(3) Die Mitglieder der Regierung des Protektorates werden vom Reichsprotektor bestätigt. Die Bestätigung kann zurückgenommen werden.

(4) Der Reichsprotektor ist befugt, sich über alle Massnahmen der Regierung des Protektorates unterrichten zu lassen und ihr Ratschläge zu erteilen. Er kann gegen Massnahmen, die das Reich zu schädigen geeignet sind, Einspruch einlegen und bei Gefahr im Verzuge die im gemeinsamen Interesse notwendigen Anordnungen treffen.

(5) Die Verkündung von Gesetzen, Verordnungen und sonstigen Rechtsvorschriften sowie der Vollzug von Verwaltungsmassnahmen und rechtskräftigen gerichtlichen Urteilen sind auszusetzen, wenn der Reichsprotektor Einspruch einlegt.

Artikel 6

(1) Die auswärtigen Angelegenheiten des Protektorates, insbesondere den Schutz seiner Staatsangehörigen im Ausland, nimmt das Reich wahr. Das Reich wird die auswärtigen Angelegenheiten so führen, wie es dem gemeinsamen Interesse entspricht.

(2) Das Protektorat erhält einen Vertreter bei der Reichsregierung mit der Amtsbezeichnung "Gesandter."

Artikel 7

(1) Das Reich gewährt dem Protektorat den militärischen Schutz.

(2) In Ausübung dieses Schutzes unterhält das Reich im Protektorat Garnisonen und militärische Anlagen.

(3) Für die Aufrechterhaltung der inneren Sicherheit und Ordnung kann das Protektorat eigene Verbände aufstellen. Organisation, Stärkezahl und Bewaffnung bestimmt die Reichsregierung.

Artikel 8

Das Reich führt die unmittelbare Aufsicht über das Verkehrswesen sowie das Post- und Fernmeldewesen.

Artikel 9

Das Protektorat gehört zum Zollgebiet des Deutschen Reiches und untersteht seiner Zollhoheit.

Artikel 10

(1) Gesetzliches Zahlungsmittel ist neben der Reichsmark bis auf weiteres die Krone.

(2) Das Verhältinis beider Währungen zueinander bestimmt die Reichsregierung.

Artikel 11

(1) Das Reich kann Rechtsvorschriften mit Gültigkeit für das Protektorat erlassen, soweit das gemeinsame Interesse es erfordert.

(2) Soweit ein gemeinsames Bedürfnis besteht, kann das Reich Verwaltungszweige in eigene Verwaltung übernehmen und die dafür erforderlichen reichseigene Behörden einrichten.

(3) Die Reichsregierung kann die zur Aufrechterhaltung der Sicherheit und Ordnung erforderlichen Massnahmen treffen.

Artikel 12

Das derzeit in Böhmen und Mähren geltende Recht bleibt in Kraft, soweit es nicht dem Sinne der Übernahme des Schutzes durch das Deutsche Reich widerspricht.

Artikel 13

Der Reichsminister des Innern erlässt im Einvernehmen mit den beteiligten Reichsministern die zur Durchführung und Ergänzung dieses Erlasses erforderlichen Rechts- und Verwaltungsvorschriften.

APPENDIX II. OBERLANDRAT DISTRICTS IN THE PROTECTORATE, MAY 1942 2/

Oberlandrat District	Oberlandrat	Political Districts Included
Bohemia		
1. Budweis 1/	Ludwig 3/	Budějovice (Budweis); (Týn n. Vltavou); Moldauthein (Vodňany); Wodnian (Třeboň); Wittingau
2. Jitschin	Dr. Möller	Brandýs n. Labem (Brandeis a.d.E.); Jičín (Jitschin); Mladá Boleslav (Jungbunzlau); Mělník (Melnik); Mnichovo Hradiště (Münchengrätz); Nová Paka (Neupaka); Semily (Semil); Jilemnice (Starkenbach); Turnov (Turnau)
3. Kladno	Dr. Meusel	Beroun (Beraun); Kladno; Kralupy n. Vlt. (Kralup a.d.M.); Louny (Laun); Roudnice n.L. (Raudnitz a.d.E.); Rakonice (Rakonitz); Slaný (Schlan)
4. Klattau	Krohmer	Blatná (Blatna); Klatovy (Klattau); Písek (Pisek); Přeštice (Pschestitz); Sušice (Schüttenhofen); Strakonice (Strakonitz); Domažlice (Taus)
5. Kolin	Dr. Eckoldt 4/	Český Brod (Böhm.-Brod); Kolín (Kolin); Ledeč n. Sáz. (Ledetsch a.d.S.); Nový Bydžov (Neu-Bidschow); Nymburk (Neuenburg a.d.E.); Poděbrady (Podiebrad); Čáslav (Tschaslau)
6. Königgrätz 1/	Dr. Ringel	Hořice (Horschitz); Hradec Králové (Königgrätz); Dvůr Králové (Königinhof); Náchod (Nachod); Nově Město n. Met. (Neustadt a.d.M.); Rýchnov n. Kn. (Reichenau); Žamberk (Senftenberg)
7. Pardubitz	Dr. Schultz von Dratzig	Chotěboř (Chotieborsch); Chrudim; Mýto Vysoké (Hohenmauth); Litomyšl (Leitomischl); Pardubice (Pardubitz)

8. Pilsen 1/	von Reinhardt (temporarily at Reich Ministry of Justice); deputy: Klose. 4/	Hořovice (Horshowitz); Kralovice (Kralowitz); Plzeň (Pilsen); Rokycany (Rokitzan)
9. Prag 1/	Dr. Freiherr von Watter 5/	Jílové (Eule); Praha (Hauptstadt Prag); Praha venkov (Prag-Land); Říčany (Ritschan)
10. Tabor	Dr. Hertel	Benešov (Beneschau); Kamenice n. Lip. (Kamnitz a.d. Linde); Milevsko (Mühlhausen); Příbram (Pibrans); Pelhřimov (Pilgrams); Sedlčany (Seltschan); Tábor (Tabor); Vlašim (Wlaschim)
Moravia		
11. Brünn 1/	Westerkamp (temp. absent); deputy: Dr. Hofmann 4/	Boskovice (Boskowitz); Brno (Brünn-Stadt); Brno venkov (Brünn-Land); Tišnov (Tischnowitz); Vyškov (Wischau)
12. Iglau 1/	Fiechtner	Velké Meziříčí (Gross-Meseritsch); Jihlara (Iglau); Moravské Budějovice (Mähr.-Budwitz); Nové Město n. Mor. (Neustadtl); Telč (Teltsch); Třebíč (Trebitsch)
13. Mähr.-Ostrau 1/	Dr. von Rumohr (temp. at Ostministerium) 6/	Místek (Friedberg); Frýdek (Friedeck); Moravská Ostrava (Mähr.-Ostrau); Valašské Meziříčí (Wallachisch-Meseritsch); Vsetín (Wsetin)
14. Olmütz	Molsen	Kroměříž (Kremsier); Litovel (Littau); Hranice (Mähr.-Weisskirchen); Olomouc (Olmütz-Stadt); Olomouc venkov (Olmütz-Land); Přerov (Prerau); Prostějov (Prossnitz)

15. Zlin	Hopf (temporarily on military service); Deputy: Dr. Bayerl	Kyjov (Gaya); Hodonín (Göding); Holešov (Holleschau); Uhersky Brod (Ung.-Brod); Uherske Hradiště (Ung.-Hradisch); Zlín (Zlin)

1/ Offices remaining after reorganization of 1942.

2/ Taschenbuch für Verwaltungsbeamte ... 1942, p. 195 (OSS microfilm).

3/ Dr. Hans Blaschek became Oberlandrat of Budweis in October 1943.

4/ Dr. Eckoldt is now Oberlandrat of Pilsen. Klose became Oberlandrat of Brünn in October 1943. Hofmann was transferred to the Reichsprotektor's Office in Praha.

5/ Von Watter was transferred to the Czech Ministry of the Interior in September 1943; his successor is not yet known.

6/ SS-Obersturmbannführer Jonak is now Oberlandrat of Mähr.-Ostrau.

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APPENDIX III. JURISDICTION OF BEZIRKSHAUPTMANNER - RAV, 15 JUNE 1942 1/

Seat	Political Districts Included
Bohemia	
1. Prag-Land-Nord	Praha venkov sever (Prag-Land-Nord); Praha (Hauptstadt Prag); Praha venkov jih (Prag-Land-Sud); Sedlčany (Seltschan); Benešov (Beneschau)
2. Kladno	Kladno; Roudnice n. Lab. (Raudnitz); Louny (Laun); Slaný (Schlan); Rakonice (Rakonitz); Beroun (Beraun)
3. Kolín	Kolín (Kolin); Čáslav (Tschaslau); Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg); Český Brod (Böhm.-Brod); Mladá Boleslav (Jungbunzlau); Mělník (Melnik); Brandys n. Lab. (Brandeis)
4. Königgratz	Hradec Králové (Königgrätz); Dvůr Králové (Königinhof); Náchod (Nachod); Rychnov n. Kn. (Reichenau)
5. Pardubitz	Pardubice (Pardubitz); Chrudim; Vysoké Mýto (Hohenmauth); Litomyšl (Leitomischl)
6. Jitschin	Jičín (Jitschin); Poděbrady (Podiebrad); Nový Bydžov (Neu-Bidschow); Semily (Semil); Turnov (Turnau)
7. Pilsen-Land	Plzeň venkov (Pilsen-Land); Plzeň (Pilsen-Stadt); Kralovice (Kralowitz)
8. Klattau	Klatovy (Klattau); Domažlice (Taus); Sušice (Schüttenhofen); Strakonice (Strakonitz); Písek (Pisek)
9. Budweis	Budějovice (Budweis); Trebon (Wittingau)
10. Tabor	Tábor (Tabor); Pelhřimov (Pilgrams); Humpolec (Gumpolds); Ledeč n. Sáz. (Ledetsch)
Moravia	
11. Brünn-Land	Brno venkov (Brünn-Land); Brno (Brünn-Stadt); Boskovice (Boskowitz); Vyškov (Wischau)
12. Zlin	Zlín (Zlin); Uherský Brod (Ung.-Brod); Uherské Hradiště (Ung.-Hradisch); Kyjov (Gaya); Hodonín (Göding)

1/ Taschenbuch fur Verwaltungsbeamte ... 1942, p. 766.

Seat	Political Districts Included
Moravia	
13. Friedberg	Místek (Friedberg); Moravská Ostrava (Stadt Mähr.-Ostrau); Valašske Meziříčí (Wallachisch-Meseritsch); Vsetín (Wsetin)
14. Olmütz-Land	Olomouc venkov (Olmütz-Land); Olomouc (Olmütz-Stadt); Litovel (Littau); Prostějov (Prossnitz); Přerov (Prerau); Kroměříž (Kremsier); Hranice (Mähr.-Weisskirchen)
15. Iglau	Jihlava (Iglau); Telč (Teltsch); Mor. Budějovice (Mähr.-Budwitz); Třebíč (Trebitsch); Velké Meziříčí (Gross-Meseritsch); Nové Město n. Mor. (Neustadtl)

CONCLUSIONS

This study describes the administrative machinery by which Germany controls the former Czechoslovak territories now known as the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia.

Territorially, the Protectorate has been incorporated into the Greater German Reich. Administratively, it has a dual form of government, its functions divided between a German administration and a so-called autonomous Czech government. The latter is practically powerless, since all its acts are supervised by the Germans. The German administration receives its orders from Berlin, through the Ministry of the Interior. These orders are carried out by the following chief officials: the Reichsprotektor, who is now largely a figurehead, the German Minister of State for Bohemia-Moravia, who exercises real power, the Commandant of the Corps Area Bohemia-Moravia, representing the military, the Commandants of the German Security Police and the German Order Police. Forms of administration, especially in the economic sphere, have been gradually revamped to conform to the German model, the process having been practically completed by the end of 1943.

Outwardly, therefore, the Protectorate must for all practical purposes be considered as an integral part of the Reich. The Czechs, however, have never accepted this situation. At present they are forced to collaborate with the Germans because of the overwhelmingly strong and efficient administrative and police network maintained in the Protectorate. A very few Czech quislings have collaborated wholeheartedly, but the great mass of the population is still unreconciled, as the Germans themselves recognize. Once the control network is weakened by internal collapse in Germany, the Czechs can be expected to expel the Germans immediately. The existence of the Czech autonomous administration and the fact that practically all lower administrative positions are still held by Czechs will facilitate the expulsion and provide a ready basis for the creation of a new administrative apparatus after the war.